Richard Brevard Russell

Late a Senator from Georgia

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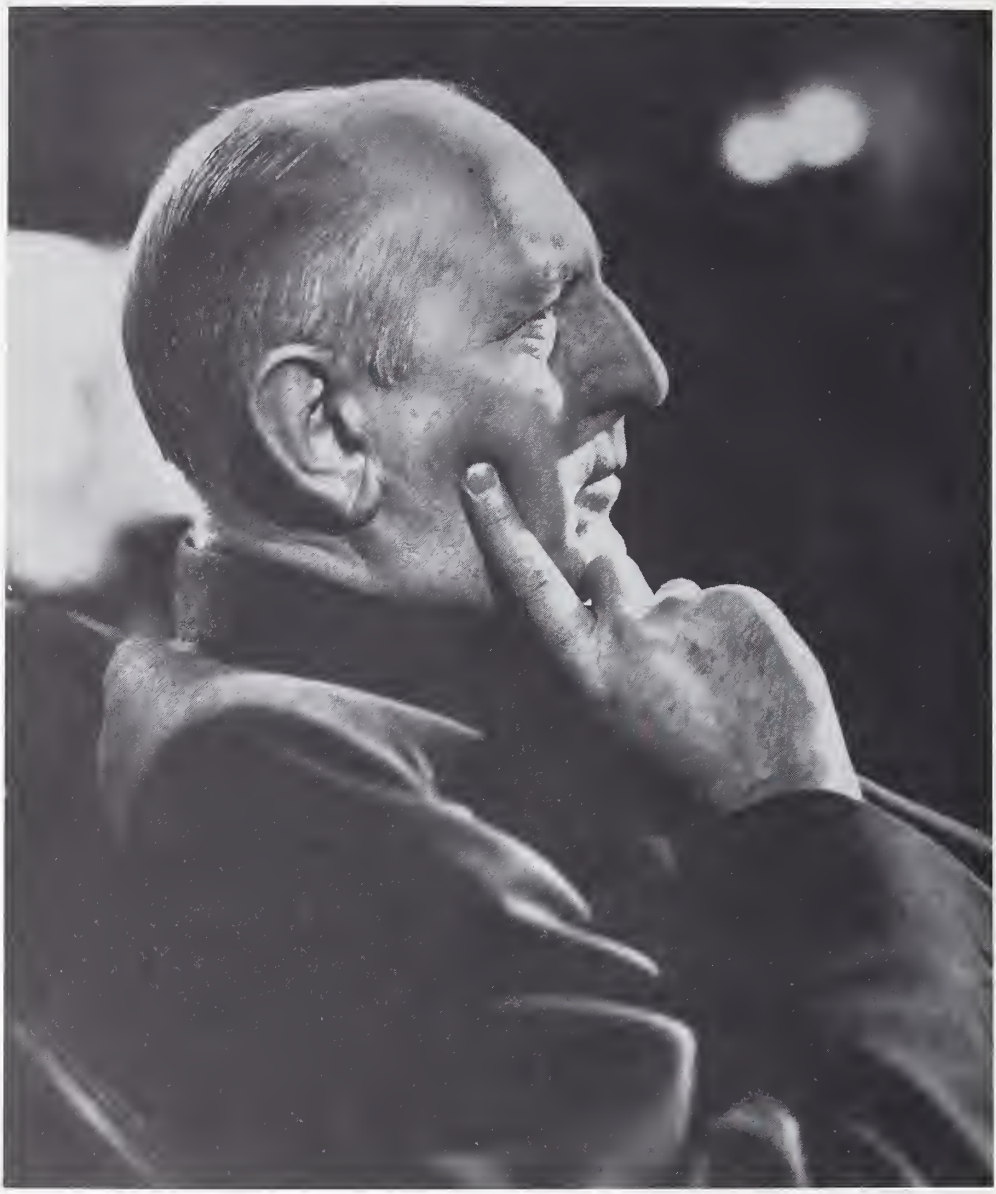

MEMORIAL SERVICES IN THE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

AND TRIBUTES IN EULOGY OF

Richard Brevard Russell

LATE A SENATOR FROM THE

STATE OF GEORGIA

Compiled Under the Direction of
the Joint Committee on Printing

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A compilation of addresses and tributes as given in the United States Senate and House of Representatives plus such additional materials, including the text of the funeral service in Winder, Ga., on the life, character, and public service of the late Richard Brevard Russell

Biography

Richard Brevard Russell, a Senator from Georgia, born in Winder, Barrow County, Ga., November 2, 1897; attended the public schools; was graduated from the Seventh District Agricultural and Mechanical School, Powder Springs, Ga., in 1914, from Gordon Institute, Barnesville, Ga., in 1915, and from the law department of the University of Georgia at Athens in 1918; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice at Winder, Ga., in 1919; served with the U.S. Naval Reserve in 1918; member of the State house of representatives 1921–31, serving as speaker 1927–31; served as Governor of Georgia 1931–33; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate January 12, 1933, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William J. Harris; reelected in 1936, 1942, 1948, 1954, 1960, and 1966 for the term ending January 3, 1973; nominated for President of the United States at 1948 and 1952 Democratic National Conventions; elected President pro tempore of the Senate January 3, 1969, and served in that capacity until his death January 21, 1971, in Washington, D.C.; interment in Russell Memorial Park, Winder, Ga.

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Memorial Tributes

IN THE

Senate of the United States

IN EULOGY OF

Richard Brevard Russell

In the Senate of the United States

JANUARY 22, 1971

PRAYER

The Senate met at 8 p.m. and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, we thank Thee for all the sacred memories and hallowed recollections which cluster about the life of Thy servant, Richard Russell. We thank Thee this moment for the nobility of his character, for his gracious manners and courtly bearing, for his parliamentary skills, for his wise statesmanship and for his service to this Nation. Comfort those who mourn. Inspire and strengthen all who remain to serve Thee here.

O Lord, open our minds to Thy truth, our hearts to Thy grace, our being to Thy love. Give wisdom and clarity to the President who speaks, understanding to all who listen, and a new dedication of all the people to the making of a better nation in a world at peace.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

Mr. Talmadge. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to advise the Senate of the passing of the senior Senator from Georgia.

The State of Georgia leads the Nation in mourning the death of Richard Brevard Russell—one of the greatest U.S. Senators of all times, a distinguished statesman without peer, and a fine man beloved and respected by all of us in the Senate today, and all those who served with him during his 38 years in this Chamber.

A great leader and a great statesman has fallen. I know of no other Member of the U.S. Senate throughout all the history of America who served his Nation with greater distinction. A legend in his own time, Senator Russell will be enshrined in history, along with giants of the U.S. Senate such as Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, and other Americans of great stature.

For more than 50 years, Senator Russell served Georgia and the Nation as the State legislator, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, and Governor of the State. He served for 38 years in the Senate.

As President pro tempore, he was third in line for succession to the Presidency. In modern history, Senator Russell was without peer in the Senate. No other Member of the Senate was more beloved and respected. Senator Russell was a Senator's Senator.

He was friend and counsel to Presidents, and there is no doubt in my mind that he would have been President himself, except for the fact that he was from the South. Georgia, the Nation, the free world, mourn his passing. I have lost a devoted friend, colleague, and confidant. I am grieved by his passing.

Mrs. Talmadge joins me in extending to the members of the Russell family our deepest heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. Mansfield. I have discussed this matter with the distinguished minority leader and we feel it only appropriate that remarks covering the passing of our late beloved colleague, the distinguished Senator from Georgia (Mr. Russell), be delivered tonight only by his own colleague from that great State.

I do wish to take this moment, though, to announce that, at the conclusion of morning business on Monday next, the remainder of that day will be devoted to eulogizing our late colleague.

I wish to join with the distinguished Senator in the remarks he has just made.

Mr. Talmadge. Mr. President, I thank the able and distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Vice President. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 7

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. Richard B. Russell, late President pro tempore of the Senate and late a Senator from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That the President of the Senate appoint a committee, of which he shall be a member, to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate stands adjourned at the close of the joint session.

The Vice President. Without objection, the resolution is considered and unanimously agreed to.

Under the second resolving clause the Chair appoints the entire membership of the Senate as the committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the late Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia.

Mr. Talmadge. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Vice President. The resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 8

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed to arrange for and attend the funeral of the Honorable Richard B. Russell, late a Senator from the State of Georgia, on vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The Vice President. Without objection, the resolution (S. Res. 8) is considered and agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1971

At the conclusion of the joint session of the two Houses, the Senate, in accordance with the order previously entered and, pursuant to Senate Resolution 7, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator Richard B. Russell, at 9 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m. the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 25, 1971, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *January 25, 1971.*

PRAYER

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. Ellender).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

May the words of our mouths and the meditations of our hearts be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our Redeemer.

Make us to know and to cherish our heritage that we may more fitly serve Thee. Live in us and work through us Thy purposes for the people of this Nation. Set our vision upon the highest goals, and give us the clean hands, the pure hearts, the worthy motives, and the wise minds for achieving them.

As this day we pay tribute to a fallen comrade, may we renew our dedication to Thee in the same spirit of selfless service which was his.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge
OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, this is a time of sadness for the Senate of the United States, for the Nation, the free world, and especially for the State of Georgia.

We mourn the passing of Richard Brevard Russell. We have lost a great leader. Dick Russell was one of the most outstanding Senators ever to sit in this Chamber in all the history of our Republic.

He was our friend and beloved colleague. The Senate rises today to honor his memory in a manner befitting the sterling statesmanlike character of Senator Russell, and the wisdom, courage, and dignity of this great man whom we all loved so dearly.

The President of the United States paused Friday night in the delivery of his annual state of the Union address to a joint session of Con-

gress to pay eloquent and heartfelt tribute to Senator Russell.

President Nixon called Senator Russell "one of the most magnificent Americans of all time."

The Congress, the President's Cabinet, the Supreme Court of the United States, and high-ranking personages from all over the country stood as one and bowed their heads in silent respect.

President Nixon paid his last respects to Senator Russell as he lay in state Saturday at the Georgia Capitol in Atlanta. The President placed a wreath on his bier, and then went outside to address a throng of Georgians on the greatness of this fallen patriot.

More than half the Members of the Senate led by the distinguished Vice President, planned to attend the funeral Saturday at the old Russell homeplace in Winder, Ga. Bad weather and flying conditions in Atlanta and that entire area prevented the airborne party from landing. We were compelled to fly to Charleston Air Force Base. Over the facilities of WCSC Television and on every television station within the State of Georgia, eulogies were transmitted to the graveside at Winder. Solemn eulogies were delivered by Vice President Agnew; the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Stennis; the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana; Representative Phil Landrum, dean of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives; the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, chaplain of the Senate; and myself.

On a dark and rain-swept day, Richard Brevard Russell was interred in the family cemetery at Russell Memorial Park in Winder, Ga.

When life passed from Senator Russell, that marked the end of an era in the U.S. Senate. He was the only Senator in history to serve more than half his life—38 years—in this body. He was truly a man of the Senate. No man more than he symbolized the greatness of the Senate as a unique American institution.

The place he occupied in the U.S. Senate is now empty. There has been created a void that can never really be filled.

There will never be another U.S. Senator of the stature and indeed the grandeur of Dick Russell.

The distinguished service of Senator Russell invokes the hallowed memory of other Senate giants like John Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and other great Americans whose names are forever enshrined in history.

Greatness in a man can sometimes be an elusive term, and often it can be a transient quality—not so with Richard B. Russell.

Senator Russell was a great U.S. Senator—a great American—and a great Georgian in the highest sense of that term. This man possessed the full measure of greatness that was neither illusory nor transitory. Greatness illuminated all the adult life and long career of public service of Richard Brevard Russell.

Dick Russell was destined for greatness. He was ordained to be a leader. This was his mission in life. He never failed.

Senator Russell attained great heights. He earned immense respect and prestige. Over half a century, in various high positions of State and national leadership, power and authority were his constant companions.

But it must be said of Dick Russell that he was a humble man, even to the point almost of being shy and retiring. He was a modest man. He could sometimes be even self-effacing.

Yet, Dick Russell knew he was a Senator of considerable power and authority. But he regarded as most important, not the mere possession of power, but how it was used. He never abused authority that was accorded him. He merged the exercise of power with his innate humility. There resulted a rare blend that was worthy of the man, the office he held, and the Nation he served.

In debate and in championing principles to which he had dedicated his body and soul, Senator Russell was a tenacious fighter. Senators whose own principles put them on opposite sides from him on legislative or constitutional issues found him to be a learned and formidable opponent.

They found arrayed against them a master of parliamentary procedure and an almost uncanny judge of human nature.

Probably no other Member of the Senate in modern history was more familiar with the complexities of the rules of the Senate. This after all is not surprising. The past 38 years in the U.S. Senate were Dick Russell's whole life. It was more than that. The Senate was his love.

He was a jealous guardian in the Senate of what he held to be right and good. He was an indispensable ally and a resourceful foe. But

through it all, in all the legislative and forensic engagements on and off the floor of the Senate, Senator Russell was above all a gentleman.

He could be courtly in the patrician style. This distinctive quality of his was sometimes particularly pronounced after he had vanquished his adversaries and scored a major victory.

Over the years, Senator Russell met many adversaries and won many triumphs. There were also defeats. But after the dust had settled, win or lose, Senator Russell always retained the respect of his fellow Senators and countrymen. He maintained the same high standards of personal conduct in his setbacks as he did in his gains. This was because he was a statesman and a gentleman.

To fully assess the greatness of Senator Russell, one need only to examine the 50 years of his life that he gave to public service. All the things that he did, all the advancements and material progress that he brought to the Nation and his beloved home State, and the national security that Americans and the free world now enjoy, stand as evidence of the greatness of Dick Russell.

Such was his public record, power and prestige, that President Harry Truman wrote in his memoirs:

> If Russell had been from Indiana, or Missouri or Kentucky he may very well have been the President of the United States. He had the ability, integrity, and honesty.

To fully understand the man one must go back further, deeper into Georgia history to study the modest origins that produced Richard Russell.

The late senior Senator from Georgia was a Russell of Georgia. His father was Richard Brevard Russell, Sr., chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia. His mother was Ina Dillard Russell, a lady of great dignity and a devoted mother who guided the upbringing of her children with a firm, and sometimes not very gentle but always loving, hand.

Richard Brevard Russell, Jr., who went on to walk with Presidents and sit on the highest and most important councils of the U.S. Government, was born—the fourth of 15 children—before the turn of the century, in 1897. When he was in the fourth grade, young Richard Russell likened himself to a star for a composition assignment. He wrote in his book:

> I cannot do much to make the dark world bright. My silver beams cannot pierce far into the gleam of night. Yet I am part of God's plan, and I will do the best I can.

Five years later, when he was in the ninth grade, he wrote again, prophetically, in a little book that he expected to be Governor someday.

He did become Governor of Georgia. His administration was characterized by far-reaching reform and fiscal responsibility. But before that, he went to the State legislature, at the age of 22. He served in the Georgia House of Representatives for 10 years, and was elected Speaker of the House when he was only 29 years old.

He was elected Governor of Georgia in 1930, and took over the reins of State government while he was only 33 years old, the youngest Governor in the history of our State. He brought the State through the critical years of the great depression by putting through a rigid program of austerity and economy. One of the first things he did was reduce his own salary by almost $4,000 a year.

During the last year of his term as Governor, Richard Russell was elected to the U.S. Senate.

On January 12, 1933, Richard Brevard Russell took the Senatorial oath of office. He was the youngest Member of the Senate at that time, and the years ahead were to prove that he would be one of the most able.

He went on to become one of the most influential men not only in the U.S. Senate but throughout all the U.S. Government as well.

He served under six Presidents of the United States and was adviser and confidant to them all.

Presidents of the United States may not always have agreed with Dick Russell from Franklin Roosevelt to the present, and most assuredly he was often at odds with them. But Presidents paid attention when Senator Russell spoke.

In the words of President Nixon:

> When the security of the United States was the issue six American Presidents leaned upon this great patriot; he never failed them.

From the time of his youthful admission to the Senate, and throughout almost four decades that followed, Senator Russell put his keen mind to work on legislative problems of the American Government. He grew in experience, seniority, and stature and assumed unparallelled positions of leadership and responsibility.

Chairmanship of the Senate Armed Services Committeee for more than 15 years;

Chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Committee since 1969;

Chairman of the Defense Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that is responsible for providing funds for the Nation's defense;

An influential member of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee since 1947; and

Powerful member of the Democratic Steering Committee since 1957.

He was father of the national school lunch program that has benefited untold millions of American children since the program's inception in 1936.

Senator Russell wore the mantle of leadership—in the Senate and in the hierarchy of government—proudly and with distinction. He became a figure of national prominence.

In 1952 he waged a campaign for the Democratic nomination to the Presidency of the United States, and received almost 300 ballots, many of them cast by delegates from 27 States outside the South.

In addition to the many heavy burdens and responsibilities that Senator Russell carried in the Senate, he was assigned other momentous tasks that produced still further testimony to the greatness of the man whose memory we honor today.

He presided over the joint Armed Service-Foreign Relations Committee inquiry into the recall of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as U.S. Commander in the Far East. Because of Senator Russell's firm and fair hand, these hearings are still regarded today as a model for the conduct of congressional inquiry.

He served as ranking member of the Commission investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. He was appointed to the Warren Commission by his longtime friend, Lyndon B. Johnson, who was Russell's protege when the former President was a Member of the Senate, and whose rise to majority leader came largely as a result of the efforts of Senator Russell.

In all these duties, as in everything the man did, Senator Russell acted strictly in accordance with what he believed to be the best interests of the United States and the people of Georgia whom he represented.

One outstanding characteristic of Senator Russell was that he never wavered nor compromised his integrity or conviction.

The record of Richard Russell in the U.S. Senate is replete with occasions when he was called upon to defend his convictions and to fight for his belief in the American way of life.

He did so with the fierce courage of the great gladiator that he was, although the odds were often overwhelming.

He was a stern and devoted disciple of the U.S. Constitution. He never misplaced nor abandoned his faith in the Constitution and the American Republic.

When he was pained by what he regarded as legalistic, unjustified tampering with the spirit and letter of the Constitution, regardless of whether it came from the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of our Government, Senator Russell never hesitated to let it be known far and wide.

This was to his everlasting credit. Before coming to Washington in 1933 as a young, new Senator, he memorized the U.S. Constitution. He took a solemn oath every 6 years since that time to uphold that Constitution. And that was what he did to the very best of his ability until his last breath.

The freedom of all Americans, their individual liberty and privacy, are more secure today because of Senator Russell. I must say in recent years we have seen encroachments on some of these freedoms and liberties. This was a great source of sorrow, and sometimes anger, to Senator Russell. But it can accurately be said that whatever erosions of strict constitutional government as have occurred came over the strong and vigorous opposition of Senator Russell. He provided brilliant and inspiring leadership for many other Senators who shared his concern for preserving the Constitution as it was written and intended by the Founding Fathers.

The memory of Richard Russell and the great U.S. Senator that he was will live forever. One important way that the people of Georgia desire to honor his memory is through the preservation of his personal and public papers and other memorabilia.

It has been my high honor to be selected as chairman of the Richard B. Russell Foundation, Inc. It is the purpose of the foundation "to collect and preserve a documented record of the life and public service of the Honorable Richard Brevard Russell, U.S. Senator."

The Russell papers, which rank in importance with Presidential papers, will be preserved for

posterity at the library of the University of Georgia, at Athens, Ga., for students, scholars, and historians.

The foundation is presently engaged in a fundraising campaign to finance equipping the library, to provide for a Russell chair of history at the university, graduate assistantships, fellowships, and historical research material.

I am very proud to have the assignment as chairman of the foundation's board of trustees. The Russell Library will be a great credit to the State of Georgia and the Nation. The library will stand as a permanent memorial to the late, great Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

I know of no better way to portray my feelings about my departed beloved friend and colleague than to recall the words of Senator Russell himself in this Chamber some years ago. Senator Russell rose to rightfully express the deep sense of honor that he possessed. He told the Senate:

> When the time comes for me to go out of this chamber, whether I go voluntarily, whether my commission is revoked by the electorate of Georgia, or whether I am carried out in a box, I hope it will at least be possible to say of me that I was an honorable man. I do not know of anything that might be said that would better please me.

I know of no other man who has ever served his State and Nation with more honor than Dick Russell.

I am confident that I can speak for the Senate when I say that Senator Russell was an honorable man. It is my prayer to the Almighty that the United States of America will always continue to produce such leaders, such men of iron will and devotion to duty, as the late senior Senator from Georgia.

Mr. President, a great statesman, one of Georgia's own, has fallen.

Mrs. Talmadge and I feel a deep sense of personal loss.

Mr. President, I have a statement by the President and a statement by the Vice President on the death of Senator Russell, an obituary on Senator Russell from the Atlanta Constitution, along with eulogies by State and other public officials, editorial comments, and the text of my graveside remarks.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL

America mourns the passing of one of her greatest sons.

A quarter of a century ago, when I first came to the Congress of the United States, Richard Russell of Georgia was already a name that inspired a universal admiration and respect, from legislative adversaries and allies alike. He possessed in unprecedented abundance, a rare blend of courage, character, vision and ability that moved him indisputably into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate.

When the security of the United States was the issue, six American Presidents leaned upon this great patriot; he never failed them. I am honored to have served with him briefly in the Senate; I am honored to have known him as a friend.

The Nation whose security was his constant concern for four decades in the upper Chamber will be ever in his debt. His home State of Georgia, which he represented with such nobility, perseverance and skill, can take perpetual pride in his memory.

STATEMENT BY VICE PRESIDENT SPIRO T. AGNEW ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL

During the past 2 years I came to know and respect Richard Russell. Senator Russell was one of America's greatest lawmakers. He was a Senator in the tradition of Webster and Clay, a man of towering intellect and unwavering integrity. He was a partisan of principle who in time of crisis never failed to place the broad interests of his country above all other considerations.

The unique abilities of Dick Russell will be grievously missed in the Senate. Along with millions of Americans and the people of Georgia, whom he served so well, I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Senator Russell's family in this time of loss.

[From The Atlanta Constitution, Friday, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL DIES AT 73: NIXON, L. B. J. LEAD TRIBUTES: TWO SISTERS, AIDES, AT HIS BEDSIDE

(By Bob Hurt)

WASHINGTON.—Richard Brevard Russell, who had served in the United States Senate longer than half the population of Georgia has lived, died Thursday. His body will be flown home Friday for all the honors that the state and region can pay his memory.

Sen. Russell died at 2:25 p.m. Thursday in the two-room suite at Walter Reed Army Medical Center that he had visited so frequently in recent months.

In death, his body will be returned to Winder, the little Georgia town a remarkable clan of Russells called their home. Russell himself came to have a voice in the councils of the Free World and was third in line to succeed to the presidency of the United States.

His lungs crippled by chronic emphysema, the 73-year-old Georgian finally succumbed to the strain of a recurring respiratory infection that had kept him hospitalized since Dec. 8.

Death came in the same two-room Walter Reed suite where the senator had rallied from numerous other respiratory attacks that had plagued him since his emphysema condition was first diagnosed in 1958.

Attending physician Dr. Robert Zurek, an Army lieutenant colonel, announced the cause of death as "respiratory insufficiency as a result of pulmonary deficiency."

With Sen. Russell at the time of death were two sisters, Mrs. J. K. Stacy of Atlanta and Mrs. Hugh Peterson of Ailey, and two of Russell's closest staff aides, administrative assistant Charles Campbell and special assistant Proctor Jones, along with medical personnel.

The flag at the White House was lowered to half-staff at 2:45 p.m. Flags in Washington will fly at half-staff until after the senator's funeral.

Moments after the senator's death, his press aide, Powell Moore, was notified by phone at Russell's main Senate office.

Moore moved quietly among the Senator's office workers giving them the news individually.

The official announcement to the press was delayed about 10 minutes while members of Russell's immediate family were informed by phone.

The senator's body was taken to Gawler's Funeral Home in Northwest Washington Thursday evening. By midnight about a dozen old friends had come by to pay their respects.

Most of the visitors were Capitol Hill staff members who had worked with Russell through the years.

A small gathering of close friends and nine relatives had held vigil at Walter Reed since about 3 a.m. Tuesday as Russell fought a determined though steadily faltering battle against respiratory failure.

As early as Tuesday morning, doctors were confiding privately that they felt Russell would not live out the day, but the strength that had carried him through 12 years of illness sustained him during repeated crises.

Russell's fight for life ended only two hours and 45 minutes after the formal recess from the opening session of the Senate of the 92nd Congress.

It marked the first time in 38 years that Russell had not attended a convening session.

Shortly before noon, Sen. Herman E. Talmadge stood before the 55 Democratic senators meeting in closed-door caucus and nominated Russell for reelection as the Senate's president pro tempore, the post he had held since January of last year.

The Democrats voted approval by acclamation and rose in a standing ovation.

It is Talmadge's task to deliver the message of Russell's death formally to the full Senate when it reconvenes at 8 p.m. Friday just before moving to the House Chamber to hear President Richard M. Nixon's State of the Union address.

Talmadge's message is expected to be in the form of a resolution calling for a period of recess in mourning of Russell's death. Formal eulogies will be delivered by individual senators later.

Talmadge will lead a Senate delegation expected to leave for Georgia on the date to be set for the Russell funeral.

The emphysema, apparently spawned by Russell's formerly heavy cigaret habit, had hardened the linings of the senator's lungs and made him highly susceptible to any respiratory infection. Any lung ailment, no matter how mild, was considered serious.

After his 1965 hospital stay, weeks of recuperation restored Russell's health to the point that, though whisper-voiced and short of breath, he was unchallenged for reelection in 1966.

On March 20, 1969 he held a press conference to announce his next crisis, the discovery of a lung tumor believed to be malignant.

Declaring that he wanted to keep the people of Georgia fully informed of his condition, he told newsmen, "If you have any questions, don't spare me on account of any personal feelings you may have."

But intensive cobalt X-ray therapy cleared up the growth, and May 6 Russell announced his recovery was "almost fantastic."

The continuing bouts with infection gradually curtailed Russell's old routine of a 12-hour work day. In recent months he had relied on a cane for moving about, and later acquired an electric cart to travel through the corridors of Capitol Hill.

He was forced to keep oxygen containers in his office and home, and underwent exhaustive medical checkups every six weeks.

A new infection was detected in March 1970, followed by a month-long stay in Walter Reed.

During the election day congressional recess in November, Russell again became ill and was hospitalized briefly for an extensive checkup.

He worked three-to-four-hour days after his release and rarely appeared on the Senate floor. His condition was such that no requests for press interviews had been granted since October.

Russell's life was interwined into the power of the United States Senate.

He had become its senior member, its master parliamentarian and the measure by which the performance of his colleagues will be judged for years to come.

He died only a week after the Jan. 12 anniversary date that marked the beginning of his 38th year of service in the Senate.

Only former Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona, 93, had served longer. Hayden retired in January 1969 after 42 years of service.

By virtue of his seniority, Sen. Russell had held the most powerful legislative posts in the Senate.

As president pro tempore of the Senate, he was third in line of succession for the presidency and the Senate's primary presiding officer.

As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee since 1969, he held life-or-death power over every money-spending bill in Congress.

As ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee—and a chairman of that committee for 16 years—he played a greater role than any other senator in shaping the defense establishment of post-world War II America.

He was the leader of the Southern bloc, the senior member of the Democratic Policy Committee and the Democratic Steering Committee—the major administrative-political organs of the Senate—and ranking Democrat on the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

He was privy to the most sensitive national defense secrets of the United States by virtue of his chairmanship of the select committee on the Central Intelligence Agency. He received regular, private briefings from the director of the CIA.

And, at the height of his power, Russell was acknowledged as the master legislator of the U.S. Senate. His knowledge of Senate rules, parliamentary procedures and the voting inclinations of each of his 99 colleagues made him a legislative floor manager without peer.

He had been condemned during his career for his powerful role in opposition to civil rights measures and was the ultimate enemy of critics of expanded defense spending.

But at the same time, Russell's sense of personal honor and his quiet, courtly manner had won him the respect of his most outspoken foes.

He had been counselor to six presidents and was the only man in history to serve more than half his life in the U.S. Senate.

Above all, Russell had earned the undisputed reputation as a "senator's senator," a man straightforward in his dealings and committed to his personal ideals.

He formed those ideals under the Calvinistic discipline of a family of the land-owning, agrarian South. He was the fourth child and the first-born son in a family of six boys and seven girls, reared on a 1,000-acre farm near Winder 55 mile northeast of Atlanta.

Sen. Russell's survivors include four sisters, Mrs. Stacy of Atlanta; Mrs. S. Gordon Green of Winder; Mrs. Peterson of Ailey, and Mrs. R. L. Nelson of Thomson, and five brothers, Dr. Fielding D. Russell of Statesboro; Col. Walter B. Russell of Decatur; Dr. Henry Edward Russell of Memphis, Tenn., and Dr. Alexander B. Russell and William J. Russell, both of Winder.

As patriarch of the far-flung Russell clan, the senator had continued to live in the large 2-story family home.

His father was a lawyer, banker, newspaper editor and president of the Georgia College for Women at Milledgeville, but his abiding interest was politics.

The elder Russell was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives two years after he graduated from law school, later ran unsuccessful races for governor and U.S. senator, finally winning election in 1922 as chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court.

Under his tutelage and the devoted attention of his mother, the former Ina Dillard, Russell became the most precocious state political figure of his time.

He graduated from the University of Georgia Law School at the age of 21, and one year later was elected to the Georgia House.

Six years later, in 1927, he became speaker of the House and four years later was elected governor at the age of 33, the youngest chief executive in the history of Georgia.

Russell engineered his surprising gubernatorial victory with a grueling, statewide automobile tour that brought him face to face with the people of a state caught in the depths of the depression.

As a "reform" governor, his first actions were to cut his own salary by $3,950, cut the number of state bureaus and departments from 102 to 17 and trim the state budget by 20 per cent.

He redesigned Georgia's higher education program. establishing the state's first board of regents.

During the final year of Russell's term as governor, U.S. Sen. W. J. Harris died in office, and Russell launched his third major campaign. On Jan. 12, 1933, he was sworn in at the age of 35 as the youngest member of the U.S. Senate at that time.

His rise to power already had been noted outside Georgia. Six months earlier he had delivered the seconding speech nominating Franklin Delano Roosevelt as the Democratic presidential candidate.

Russell, remembering the agonies of Georgians caught in the depression, became one of Roosevelt's strongest Southern allies in the Senate and a wholehearted champion of the New Deal.

Before he came to Washington he had memorized the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Senate's all-important 40 Rules and arranged for special tutoring from the Senate parliamentarian.

Though a junior senator operating in the shadow of Sen. Walter F. George, he soon was floor-managing major New Deal legislation.

Russell's early interests were agriculture, conservation and forestry programs and he acted as floor manager for the 1936 act creating the Rural Electrification Administration.

In 1936, he authored and won passage of the legislative program establishing the first nationwide school lunch program, and was instrumental in creating the Farmers Home Administration.

That year also brought his most rugged election battle, a challenge from then Gov. Eugene Talmadge. Russell waged the most vigorous campaign of his career, answering charges of being a liberal and a Roosevelt puppet.

The campaign was punctuated by threats against both candidates and some of the most bitter political convolutions in Georgia history. But Russell won a substantial victory and never again faced a serious challenge.

His close association with Roosevelt soured when he returned to the Senate and refused the President's request to lead the behind-the-scenes maneuvering to unseat Sen. George, a plan that was part of Roosevelt's tactics to win Senate approval of his efforts to expand the U.S. Supreme Court.

Two years later the break was complete when Russell sided with conservatives attacking the President's high-spending policies of ending the depression.

With the outbreak of World War II, Russell's interests turned to the military establishment, and he journeyed to England to inspect U.S. bases. He was a member of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, a body later to be consolidated into the Armed Services Committee.

As Russell's seniority and legislative reputation grew, he became one of the South's best-known conservative spokesmen.

In 1948, Southerners chaffing under the early civil rights statements of President Harry Truman urged Rus-

sell to become the nominee of the state's rights Democratic party. He declined, and later received 263 votes at the Democratic National Convention.

But Russell's national political ambitions were stirred by the unexpected presidential feelers. In 1952 he entered the Florida presidential primary, partly to dampen the ambitions of Tennessee Sen. Estes Kefauver and partly to test his own strength.

Russell won the primary and set a brisk pre-convention speaking schedule across the nation. He said later that he considered his race a vehicle to act as spokesmen for the conservatives of the party, but those who knew him well said the Senator was looking hard for his national campaign possibilities.

He drew 294 votes at the party convention, many of them from delegates in 27 states outside the South.

But Russell was a political realist, and his loss at the convention closed his ambitions for national office.

President Truman was to say later, "I believe that if Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been president of the United States."

President Richard M. Nixon was to recall and concur in those words at a reception honoring the senator in February 1970.

The flirtation with presidential politics had brought Russell before the national eye, but not for the first time.

A year earlier, in 1951, the Georgian found himself the new chairman of the Armed Services Committee and facing a major crisis when President Truman fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur at the height of the Korean war.

MacArthur's admirers were quietly working for impeachment of Truman and Republicans moved quickly to run the flamboyant commander's dismissal into a presidential election issue.

Russell intervened immediately by wiring MacArthur an invitation to testify before his committee. The general accepted and Russell maneuvered to hold the hearings behind closed doors.

Transcripts were provided the press each day, and for two months the senator held reign over the most political explosive issue of the day.

Russell carefully explored both sides of the case, letting MacArthur and his followers vent their feelings.

The disciplined pace of the proceedings blunted the crisis atmosphere and the issue faded to the point that the committee was never called to issue a report of its findings.

At about the same time, Russell became the confidant and prime mentor of then Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Georgian had known Johnson since he had been a House member seeking Senate help for REA legislation. In the early 1950s their friendship in the Senate had become unshakable. Russell helped engineer Johnson's successful race for Senate minority leader in 1953 when Republicans controlled the Senate.

It was a friendship that was to survive a later split in ideologies.

Russell had maintained his state's rights advocacy of segregation throughout his Senate career, and by virtue of his mastery of parliamentary maneuvering had been a leader in blocking or weakening major civil rights legislation.

In 1964 when President Johnson brought his expansive civil rights act before the Senate, Russell launched a historic battle.

For 83 days—the longest continuous debate in the Senate's history—he led the Southern filibuster to block the measure. A cloture vote finally cut off debate and the bill was passed.

The defeat seemed to signal a mellowing in Russell's vehemence against such legislation.

He returned to Georgia after the loss and said, "I have no apologies to anyone for the fight that I made. I only regret that we did not prevail. But these statutes are now on the books and it becomes our duty as good citizens to live with them."

At the same time he was marshaling the Southern civil rights opposition, Russell had been named by the President as a member of the Warren Commission, charged with the duty of investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Suspicious that Lee Harvey Oswald acted under foreign influence, the Georgian was the only one of the six commission members who initially refused to sign the report.

He withheld approval until a clause was added saying their conclusions represented a judgment based upon the best information available.

As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Russell was the first and loudest critic of U.S. military support to the French in Vietnam in 1954. He later condemned President Kennedy's dispatch of advisers and predicted a widening military quagmire.

But when large-scale American involvement was committed, Russell became one of President Johnson's most hawkish supporters. He advocated blocking North Vietnamese harbors and destroying food supplies in the north.

In other actions, he was a leader in establishing the U.S. nuclear-powered submarine fleet, and his opposition in 1961 was largely responsible for the reversal of a Kennedy administration decision to stop development of manned bombers.

With his influence in military affairs, Russell brought Georgia a lion's share of U.S. defense dollars. A total of 15 major military installations flourish in the state, bringing in a combined military and civilian payroll of more than 1 billion annually.

Despite his prestige and power, Russell led an austere life in Washington. A bachelor, he lived in a modest apartment in the Foggy Bottom section of the district and drove himself to work until his health began to fail.

His few concessions to his position were a chauffeured limousine he was authorized in 1969 by virtue of his office as president pro tempore, and a 24-hour call on a private Air Force jet, a privilege he used for his trips to the family home in Winder.

Russell maintained an unusually small staff for a senator of his seniority, preferring to take most of the responsibilities of his office on himself. When his health permitted, he regularly worked 12-hour days, six days a week.

Among the organizations to which he belonged were the American and Georgia state bar association, the American Legion, the Forty and Eight, Sigma Alpha Epsilon, Kiwanis, the Odd Fellows, the Shriners, the Elks, the Masons, the Burns Club of Atlanta and the Sphinx honorary society of the University of Georgia.

He attended the public schools of Winder. The Agricultural and Mechanical School of Powder Springs and Gordon Institute in Barnesville. He received his bachelor of law degree from the University of Georgia at Athens in 1918.

He held honorary doctor of laws degrees from Mercer University and The Citadel.

[From The Atlanta Constitution, Friday, Jan. 22, 1971]

Dick Russell

Among all the thousands of words in the Congressional Directory, devoted to the sometimes self-serving biographies submitted by members of Congress, the shortest of all was that offered by Georgia's senior senator, *Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga.*

It was a modest entry, typical of the man.

Sen. Russell, dead at 73, gave in yesterday to a better-than-five-year struggle with a lung disease, chronic emphysema. His long battle befitted the man. It was a gallant battle, uncomplaining, a battle Dick Russell knew in the end he must lose.

Russell, aware of his problems of health, always said he would step down at any point when he could no longer serve his constituents. He meant it. He gave his staff stern instructions to be candid about his condition whenever he was in the hospital. He was aware, no doubt, when he last sought re-election in 1966, that he might not live out another six-year term.

We feel certain that Russell would have stepped down at any point when, in his view, his health interfered with his duties. But, at the same time, we pay him the compliment of thinking perhaps he wanted to die in office, to let his life and his long significant career in the U.S. Senate end at the same time.

He never married. He loved his family, the many brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews. He was inordinately fond of the children of his staff members. He seemed an austere public man, almost Spartan in outlook, but those near him found him a warm and friendly man. He never married, but he took as mistress the United States Senate, and his full 38 years service in the Senate amounted to more than half his span of life.

In later years, Russell led the Southern Senate opposition to civil rights legislation. We believed him wrong on that issue and said so. But it's worth noting the reason *why* he was the leader of the Southern group: it was inevitable because of Russell's own character and intelligence. Lesser men often hid behind that leadership, men who used the cheap demagogic tactics of racist politics to win public office. Russell never did that; he was neither a hater nor a demagogue.

Harry Truman once wrote that Russell probably would have been President of the United States, had he not been a Southerner, and it's probably true. But his service meant much to the nation, from the days when he helped mold New Deal legislation in the 1930s to the years of influencing our entire military structure. He was an adviser to presidents, giving his best counsel when asked, and never then vainglorioously quoting to others what he said to the President or the President to him.

Russell completed his 38th year in the U.S. Senate a few days ago and, in a statement issued from his hospital bed, he thanked Georgia citizens "for permitting me to serve at the very hub of our national life during the most exciting era in human history."

Let that stand as a farewell. Dick Russell was a man of honesty, and character, and devotion to public service. We salute him.

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 22, 1971]

Senator Called a Giant

President Richard M. Nixon led the nation's political leaders Thursday in mourning the death of Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell, praising him as "a rare blend of courage, character, vision and ability that moved him indisputedly into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate."

Former President Lyndon B. Johnson, one of Russell's oldest friends, called him "a giant among his colleagues."

If Russell had not been a Southerner, said Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, echoing the words of former President Harry S. Truman, "he would have been president of the United States. He could have gone far—much farther than he did."

In his statement, President Nixon said:

"With the death of Sen. Richard Russell, America mourns the passing of one of her greatest sons. A quarter of a century ago, when I first came to the Congress of the United States, Richard Russell was already a name that inspired a universal admiration and respect from legislators, adversaries and allies alike.

"When the security of the United States was the issue six American Presidents leaned upon this great patriot; he never failed them.

"I am honored to have served with him briefly in the Senate; I am honored to have known him as a friend. The nation whose security was his constant concern for four decades in the upper chamber will be ever in his debt. His home state of Georgia which he represented with such nobility, perseverance and skill can take perpetual pride in his memory."

Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania called Russell "a giant among giants."

"His dedication to his country, to his state, to his party and to his beloved Senate knew no bounds," Sen. Scott said. "There has never been nor do I believe there ever will be a finer parliamentarian in the Senate than the senator from Georgia."

"We shall all miss him as a colleague and shall feel his loss deeply, but the country will feel his loss even more."

Mississippi Sen. James Eastland called him "the rock upon which the Senate rested during periods of great danger and times of great trials."

Sen. Eastland added, "All in all, I thought he had the best grasp of all the major problems of our government—more so than anyone in Washington for the last 20 years.

"He represented and rigidly followed the highest standards of conduct as a public official. His passing is a great loss to the Senate, but we can remember that his many contributions to the nation for four decades have left many constructive achievements that, in effect, mean Richard Russell and his influence will be with us for more decades to come.

"There is no doubt that amid all his activities his first love and devotion was to the State of Georgia and its people. He never forgot those who entrusted him with his high responsibility He never varied from his devotion to them."

Sen. Allen Ellender, D-La., who is in line to succeed Russell as Senate president pro tem, said, "The loss of Sen. Richard Russell will be keenly felt by this Senate, the state of Georgia and the nation. I share this loss with a deep sense of personal sorrow over the passing of my longtime friend."

Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., called Russell "the ablest member" of the Senate who represented "an institution, an exemplary standard, a code of ethics."

The U.S. Senate, declared Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., lost "a giant in its history."

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, now a professor of international law at the University of Georgia, said the Winder senator was "a valued and trusted confidant of all our post-war Presidents."

Carl Vinson, retired chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and a long-time friend, called Russell "one of the most brilliant men of my acquaintance."

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 22, 1971]

CARTER LEADS STATE'S EULOGY

Praise for Sen. Richard B. Russell's character and achievements came from state and local leaders following the senator's death Thursday.

"The people of Georgia have lost a friend for whom we had the greatest personal affection," said Gov. Jimmy Carter. "We have lost a senator who spoke for us all. The nation has lost a statesman.

". . . Yet in our sorrow, we are thankful for the contributions this great and humble man made to our country and our state," the governor said. "His life has been an example to all who would truly serve their fellow men.

"People who are close to me know what an intimate friend Sen. Russell was to me," Carter recalled. "While I was in the Naval Academy he was my hero. All Georgians join the Russell family in sorrow at his passing."

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, now teaching at the University of Georgia in Athens, called Russell "one of the truly great senators in the history of our republic. A valued and trusted confidant of all our post-war presidents, his integrity and sense of honor inspired all those who worked with him in both the legislative and executive branches of our government."

Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox said he first came to know Sen. Russell in the mid-1950s "because of visits to his office when I used to go to Washington with problems about wage-and-hour laws and business—that sort of thing.

"I always felt that I was a better man when I had talked with Sen. Russell," Maddox said. "The people who loved freedom in Georgia and in the country and in the world have lost a champion."

Former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, now adjutant general of the Georgia National Guard, said, "The United States and the state of Georgia have lost their greatest statesman. His splendid works will be inscribed in our nation's history, and succeeding generations will be aware of and will discuss the greatness of Sen. Richard B. Russell.

"It goes without saying that our family feels a keen personal loss," said Vandiver, who married Russell's niece, Betty Russell. "I am grateful that my children had the privilege of knowing and loving him."

Atlanta Mayor Sam Massell said the loss of Russell "depletes a part of our heritage and a part of our future. He was a symbol of strength in our democracy and as one of the country's most important public officials he brought unequalled fame to his home state. The respect he enjoyed from Georgians, as well as people throughout the free world, has rarely been equalled by any statesman."

Former Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. observed that Russell's leadership "covered the space of three generations of Georgians, and it is doubtful that any other Georgian served so long and so honorably the people of this state. His record as legislator, governor and United States senator will stand as a symbol of greatness amongst Georgia people for all times. He will be greatly missed."

Officials at St. Joseph's Infirmary, where Mayor Emeritus William B. Hartsfield is recovering from a heart attack, said the 80-year-old former Atlanta mayor had not been informed of Russell's death and was not in good enough health to be told.

Bishop John Owen Smith, resident bishop of the United Methodist Church in Georgia, called Russell "one of history's most powerful, yet most humble men. Those of us who knew him remember that the Senator spent many hours in the Library of Congress meditating on the works of the great Christian philosophers. He studied them as he studied men of history. From now on we shall find ourselves studying Sen. Russell."

Bishop Smith said Russell, a lifelong Methodist, "will be recorded as a worthy statesman, capable servant of the public and a Christian gentleman."

Scores of other local and state leaders reacted to Russell's passing:

Atlanta Vice Mayor Maynard Jackson: "I'm sure untold numbers of Georgians will mourn the passing of this man whose entire life was devoted to public service. Obviously no one will be able to assume the particular mantle of power which he so easily wore."

State Sen. Leroy Johnson, first Negro to serve in the Georgia Senate in modern times: "Sen. Russell was without question considered by all who knew him as a man of great integrity. He will be missed by Georgians and more specifically by his colleagues in the Senate."

A GREAT LOSS

Bond Almand, chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court: "Georgia and the nation have suffered a great loss in the death of Richard Brevard Russell. He served

his state as governor and the nation as senator from Georgia with fidelity, honor and credit."

George L. Smith II, speaker of the House of Representatives: "The noblest Georgian of them all is gone. He always will be remembered."

Oliver Bateman, minority leader of the State Senate: "Few of us realize the impact Sen. Russell had on national policy, particularly in the area of defense and foreign policy. And it's a great loss to the administration because Sen. Russell consistently has supported those things he felt were good for the nation, without political bias."

Tom Murphy, speaker pro tem of the House: "He was a great man. Even though he was in a high place he never forgot the little people."

Al Holloway, majority leader of the Senate: "The footprints left by Sen. Russell have been much deeper than any other Georgian prior or current. The United States has certainly lost a champion of public service."

Regent Roy Harris of Augusta: "I have known Dick since he was about 18 years old. . . . His death is a great loss to the people of Georgia, to the people of the South. He's led nearly every fight that Southerners have made to prevent discrimination and punishment of the people of the South."

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard B. Russell

The death of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell Jr. leaves a void in the state and in the nation which will not be filled within the foreseeable future.

He was a giant of a man whose influence shaped and molded national policy, particularly in the vital and all-encompassing fields of money and defense.

At his death he was chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee as well as president pro tem of the Senate. Prior to that he had been chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee since 1951.

He was the friend of presidents from both political parties. His influence and support were eagerly sought by whoever happened to reside in the White House.

It is characteristic of the man that although he was a life-long Democrat on matters of national interest he did not hold to a narrow and partisan view. His outlook was too broad to be so constricted. And he threw his support to whatever he thought in the best interests of the nation as a whole.

"I'm a reactionary when times are good," he said in 1963. "In a depression I'm a liberal."

Sen. Russell's potential stature was indicated when he first entered politics. Going to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1921 at the age of 23, he was designated speaker pro tem in 1923 and was elected speaker four years later.

When his father, the late Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, Richard B. Russell Sr., swore him in as governor of the state in 1931, he was the second youngest governor in Georgia history.

He went to Washington as a U.S. senator in 1933 and there he remained until his death.

Without seeking the nomination, in 1948 Sen. Russell received 263 votes in Democratic convention balloting for a presidential candidate. Four years later he did actively seek the prize, but the second ballot was his high point and he was not to receive it.

Indicative of the esteem in which he was held, he headed a 1951 Senate investigation of the explosive issue of President Truman's firing Gen. of the Army Douglas MacArthur, and in 1963 was appointed to the Warren Commission which investigated the assassination of President Kennedy.

Throughout his Senate career, Sen. Russell reflected glory and honor upon his native State.

Sen. Russell's accomplishments brought him worldwide fame and renown. At home this is remembered with pride, but at home the senator is remembered for other things. He is remembered for his devotion to his family and to the family home, which was his home at the time of his death, and for the care he took of his family's burying ground near this home. He is remembered at home for his personal charm and rare, dry wit, qualities which he did not trouble to project to the nation and world, saving them for those he knew. He is remembered at home for his pride in his state and in his people who helped develop it from the beginning. He is remembered here for his clean taste for simple things. He is remembered as the father of the University System of Georgia, for he was the governor who organized the system when he reorganized the state, bringing order out of chaos in which separate institutions fought each other for appropriations. In this chaos there was no possibility for growth or quality.

So will he be remembered by the many Georgians who brushed against him or came within his range. He will be remembered also for his adherence to what he considered to be right, and what he was taught was right as a youth. He believed in the Constitution as interpreted prior to the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt and he did not change his opinions here, though he must have known that modern historians might judge him harshly on this point. In this as in other things he was consistent to the end.

Eulogy to the Late United States Senator Richard Brevard Russell

(By Senator Herman E. Talmadge at the graveside. Winder, Ga., Sunday, January 24, 1971, 2:00 P.M.)

The Roman statesman, Seneca, avowed that a man who is great when he falls is great still in his prostration.

We are here today to honor a man whose greatness in life embraced 50 years of unexcelled service to his beloved state and nation . . . a man whose greatness will be everlasting.

His heart has been stilled. The grandeur of his life has been taken from this world.

But the memory of Richard Brevard Russell will remain alive in the minds and hearts of all of us here today as, I am sure it will, in generations of Georgians yet unborn.

The greatness of a state or nation is not measured by their mountains or streams, or rolling hills or plains, and not by material things or even immense wealth.

The capacity for greatness resides in the spirit of the man. This is a unique blessing of God. Man is the em-

bodiment of dignity and integrity. It is man who gives majesty to states and nations.

Such a man was Richard Brevard Russell. Such men as he have made Georgia a great and proud state. Such men of wisdom and foresight as Senator Russell built the United States, and made our nation the world leader that it is today.

Freedom and human dignity are more secure because of patriots such as Senator Russell.

Georgia, the nation, the free world are in his debt. We mourn his death.

Dick Russell's roots ran deep in Georgia. He loved this state, and he was as much a part of it as the ground on which we now stand.

There has never been a greater family than the Russells of Georgia. There was never a greater Russell than Richard Brevard Russell.

I first knew Dick Russell when he was Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. I was just a boy then, and I got a job as page. I was only there a few days, and Speaker Russell was far too busy to get to know me very well personally.

I didn't see him again for three years, when he came to McRae, Georgia, to make a speech. I went up to speak to him afterwards, and he immediately extended a cordial greeting and called me by name. I have never forgotten that. I cherish the memory of Senator Russell as that kind of man.

For all of his greatness and the heavy burdens and responsibilities that he carried throughout all of his adult life, Senator Russell was a kind and considerate and gentle man.

He was a man of all people, but he was particularly Georgia's own.

As one of the greatest U.S. Senators of all time, confidant of Presidents of the United States, a party to momentous decision making at the national and international level, Senator Russell was known and respected throughout all this land and the world over.

He brought unprecedented credit to Georgia, wherever he went and in everything he did.

Today, Georgians bow their heads in respect. A great statesman, one of our own, has fallen.

I know of no higher honor that could befall me than to have had the privilege to serve with this brilliant and courageous man in the Senate of the United States.

Hon. Mike Mansfield

OF MONTANA

Mr. President, words are difficult to find to express one's feelings toward a departed friend, a former colleague, a great legislator, and a gentleman.

The great and the near great and the humble and even the not too humble have spoken in sorrow. Now it is the moment for expressions by his colleagues in this body with whom he served so long and who owe him so much. This is the body which he respected and revered and which he fought to uphold at all times. Though the times have changed, the depth of his respect and reverence for the Senate did not.

There is very little that I can add to what the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia (Mr. Talmadge) has already said. However, if the Senator would allow me, I would like to repeat at this time what I said yesterday when I had the honor to speak along with the distinguished Senator from Georgia (Mr. Talmadge), the distinguished Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Stennis), and the distinguished gentleman representing our late colleague's home district, Mr. Landrum. What I said was also said by others both at Charleston and at Winder. But into this expression I put my feelings as best as I knew how. I must say that the full depth of my respect and regard and the friendship I felt for this great man can never fully or adequately be expressed.

What is 50 years in public life?

It is the end of a war long ago and a young lawyer's practice in a town where the railroad runs through cotton fields. It is the lift of a first election and a seat in a State legislature.

It is an ear given to the past and to the words of a family rich in the law, the Bible and the bitter fruits of an ancient war.

It is an ear given to the present, to neighbors who need and do not need, to the rich and the poor, to the harsh and the gentle, to the black and to the white. It is the Speaker's chair in the Georgia House and the learning of the machinery through which freedom seeks to speak.

What is 50 years in public life?

It is the confidence of a people whose confidence in all else has been shaken. It is the agony of an empty public purse when many hands stretch out for help.

It is a fury of frustration as the land dries up and factories stand still even as men go in want and there are the sounds of violent discontent rising. It is the weighing of plea against plea, hope against hope, need against need. It is a mandate to decide, whether it is easy to decide or hard.

It is a Governor's house in a nation's dark hours.

What is 50 years in public life?

It is a long journey to a Nation's Capitol and to the Senate of the United States. It is the mixing of an old experience and a new.

It is another war, another, and another yet, and a militant defense of the Nation's defense.

It is the pleas of a people remembered out of the past and the means, at last to respond to them.

It is all the ways that States draw strength from the Federal Government.

It is school lunches and food for the hungry, the farmer helped, the roads built, the schools expanded and the dignity of hope reborn.

It is the mastery of new legislative machinery and, as a conscience compels, its vigorous use.

It is, at last, the Chair of the Senate of the United States and the high trust of a nation.

Fifty years in public life.

It closes where it began, where it is green and there is the smell of pines.

Richard Brevard Russell, Winder, Ga., a Senator of the United States.

Hon. John Sparkman

OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, yesterday Dick Russell, as we all knew him, was returned to the soil of his native State where he lived, which he loved, and which he served so well over the years. I cannot add to what the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Talmadge) has said so well regarding him.

Dick Russell was a man whom anyone coming to know him would love and admire. Dick Russell had been in the Senate of the United States for 4 years when I entered the House of Representatives. I came to know him early. He was from my neighboring State, and I learned to follow his leadership. Later I joined him here in the Senate and came to know him as a Senator.

I remember the time in 1952, as the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Talmadge) has said, when Senator Russell was the candidate of many people throughout the country for the Presidency of the United States. Dick's friends had opened up a headquarters for him in Chicago. I went out to the convention about 10 days later and worked in his headquarters for him.

I was amazed and pleased at the great numbers of people from all over the United States who came to those headquarters to see and talk with Dick Russell. I remember a good while before the convention urging Dick to make speeches throughout the country in order that he would become more closely known by many of the people, but he felt his duty called on him to stay here at his work.

I think he would have liked well to have been the President of the United States under different circumstances. Dick was a great Senator; he was a great man; he was a great friend.

You know, Mr. President, many years ago when I was a student of Latin, I remember I was taught that the Romans had no words for "He has died." Instead, if they wanted to say that someone had reached the end of his life, they would say, "He has lived." So it is with Dick Russell. He has lived and the name of Richard Brevard Russell will go down in history as one of the truly great Senators to serve in this body and one of the truly great Americans of all time.

Hon. Strom Thurmond

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, the State of Georgia, the South, and the Nation have lost a man of great stature and influence in the death of Senator Richard Russell. He was a statesman in the truest sense of the word.

It was my privilege to serve with him on the Senate Armed Services Committee since 1958. His leadership in military affairs which resulted in a record of military preparedness for this country will stand as a memorial to this gifted and admired public servant.

He was a champion of America's servicemen, and his dedication to their welfare resulted in our soldiers being the best equipped and supported fighting men ever to go on the battlefield.

He believed in America maintaining a defense posture which could be challenged by no adversary. He not only espoused this policy, but he took the necessary steps to see that it was carried out.

Because of his forceful position on defense policies and national security he was frequently consulted by Presidents, Secretaries of Defense and State as well as others who filled key positions in our Government.

Besides his leadership in this area Senator Russell stood firm as a champion of constitutional government. He served as the leader of Senate

forces who opposed the so-called civil rights bills of recent years. His opposition to these legislative proposals was soundly based on his conviction that they were contrary to the Constitution and politically inspired.

Because of the great respect in which he was held by the Members of the Senate and the Nation as a whole, many unwise legislative proposals in the area of constitutional rights were rejected by the Senate and the Congress.

Mr. President, I believe the Nation will best remember Richard Russell for his record in these two areas—national defense and constitutional government.

To these causes, and many others, he brought a rare quality of dedication and leadership. As a man of integrity and ability his days in these Chambers will be not soon forgotten.

My sympathy is especially extended to his family, his staff, and the people of Georgia, for their loss is great. But I submit also that the Nation and the world have lost a man whose character and counsel will be sorely missed in the days ahead.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Denied the Presidency, Russell Graced the Senate," which appeared in the State newspaper, Columbia, S.C., on January 23, 1971, be printed.

[From the State, Columbia (S.C.), Jan. 23, 1971]

DENIED THE PRESIDENCY, RUSSELL GRACED THE SENATE

The death of Georgia's Senator Richard B. Russell has brought forth tributes from Americans of all walks of life and all sections of the country—united in praise of a great United States senator.

South Carolinians, however, feel a special loss because of a special bond with the distinguished Georgian. Almost a quarter century ago, "Dick" Russell was the choice of South Carolina Democrats for President of the United States. Again in 1952, South Carolinians at the Democratic National Convention backed him for the presidential nomination.

Had Russell received the nomination at Philadelphia in 1948, there would have been no bolt by the States' Rights Democrats under Strom Thurmond, for Russell personified the South's opposition to President Truman's civil rights program and to the centralization of power in Washington.

Had Russell been nominated in 1952, he would likewise have swept South Carolina and the South. Furthermore, he would have drawn powerful support throughout the nation, for even then his stature as a statesman and a senator was such that he commanded respect from all who knew him.

But Richard Brevard Russell came from the wrong part of the nation to become the nominee of a national political party. The regional discrimination which thwarted Russell was feelingly portrayed by Washington columnist William S. White when it was learned almost two years ago that Russell was seriously ill:

"He has not simply been a senator from Georgia," White wrote, "but rather, in the best and highest meaning of that old-fashioned term, a senator of the United States of America. On every single ordinary and rational test of performance, of competence, and of private and public honor, no politician in his time has more clearly and more repeatedly earned consideration for the highest office of them all . . .

"But the trouble for Richard Brevard Russell has not been that he ever lacked the ability to be an outstanding President but only that he was born in the wrong place and the wrong time and thus was forever denied even a chance at that election which otherwise could hardly have been refused to him.

"In a word, the door to the White House was locked and nailed up against him because he was a 'Southerner' and thus a member of a lesser breed without the law . . ."

South Carolinians mourn the death of Richard Russell, as they mourn the loss of their own patriot and champion of national defense, Mendel Rivers. But in Russell's case, they have occasion to lament the passing of a man who not only could have been, but should have been, President.

Hon. John C. Stennis
OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, Senator Russell and I had identical committee assignments in the Senate—members of the Armed Services Committee, the Appropriations Committee, and the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee; and in those committee assignments I was blessed as much as a fellow Senator could be blessed by association, counsel, and advice from our departed friend.

I speak with all deference to every one of the Members here, now or before, in any recent times. I believe that he was the ablest man in the Senate of our time.

Today I want to speak from the contents of a eulogy that I prepared to deliver yesterday at his funeral, when due to inclement weather, we were prevented from reaching Winder and the place of the funeral, but, through the marvelous arrangements that were made through the television stations, messages of those of us who were to speak were conveyed. Nevertheless, I want to have in

the Record and to speak here on the floor this eulogy to our friend.

We come today in reverence to honor the life and memory of our late, esteemed friend, Richard B. Russell. He needs no praise; praise is not my purpose, even though he was a dear and valued friend, and I owe him much.

I believe we can bring him the greatest honor by brief references to some high points of his notable career, search for the basis of his achievements, and hold forth the qualities and principles he followed as a legacy to the youth of our land.

During almost four decades of active service in the Senate, vast changes and challenges confronted our Nation, far beyond any other period of history.

These included the depression, World War II, the postwar years in which a new foreign policy had to be evolved, the special problems of nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Grave questions arose concerning crises in Europe and in Asia. Then came the Korean war, and now the present war.

The task of effectively arming America, in both nuclear and conventional weaponry, was always a pressing one.

In all these grave matters, Senator Russell had a firm and active hand, was a major influence with wise and constructive suggestions, and then played a major role in actually welding together each and all of our major policies, including, of course, our national security.

I believe he had the most thorough grasp of more of our major problems of government than any man that I've ever known, and good ideas, too, about a possible remedy. This was based partly on long experience, and partly on the fullest application and attention by a splendid and talented mind. But further he had the gift of uncommon commonsense, and he used it exceedingly well.

Far beyond what any Senator has done in modern times, he mastered the Senate's rules and was the Senate's valuable Member Parliamentarian.

He knew our Constitution and understood the operations of constitutional systems—our system—as few men do. He believed in that Constitution, he loved it, he followed it, and he lived it, in truth and in spirit. These are just some of the things he did concerning major legislative policies.

Some of his greatest achievements came though in actions beyond the call of duty as a legislator. During the tenures of six Presidents, including President Richard Nixon, Senator Russell, as a Senator and as a wise counselor, was called to the White House many, many times, sometimes alone, for intimate conferences with the Presidents, concerning the Nation's welfare and security. His counsel was sought, and always given, frankly and without partisanship. The course finally adopted by the Executives often reflected his conclusions and received his strong and valuable support.

I want to mention one special and partly overlooked major achievement of his—that I had intimate knowledge of—the Senate hearings in 1951 following the dismissal by President Truman of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, his Commander-in-Chief in the Korean war. The people of the entire Nation were shaken and bewildered. In a quiver of emotions and despair, strong men shed tears, while many wise men were actually doubtful whether our system could survive the shock of this event. Tensions were high indeed. Someone had to lead the way. Senator Russell was the man.

Quietly, quickly, skillfully, he conducted full hearings, which gradually became assuring to the people. General MacArthur and other notable witnesses testified fully. The evidence was quickly cleared for publication. Gradually, the people understood. The crisis passed. The superior role that Senator Russell played brought the realization to the Nation that the constitutional role, in a broad sense, of both the President and the Congress had been carried out. The people were content to let the matter rest on that basis, and calm was restored. Senator Russell received little credit, outward credit, for this superb service. But I know he was awarded an inward satisfaction that came from the knowledge that duty was met. Such a man was Senator Russell.

All these achievements, and many others, could not have been made unless there had been found in this noble man the full measure of integrity, respect and trust for him, and for his wise judgment. He served with more than 450 Senators during these 38 years, and all, I think,

would call him—honest, able, fair, an impartial man of great talent and ability, always, always with the security of the Nation and the principles of our Government foremost in his mind.

These are qualities that cannot be bought. They cannot be bestowed by gift. Rather, they must always be earned.

Over and over again, this strong man has thus been a tower of strength in the Senate at every turn of major events for almost 40 years. He never bluffed, he never applied pressure. He never sought nor held an office of power in the Senate. However, he got results. He had power in his qualities. He was the strong man of the Senate. There were and are other strong men, but he was number one.

In person, he has now introduced his last bill, has held his last hearing, has made his last conference report, and has made his last speech. But Richard Russell continues to live. His influence will be felt; the policies he helped formulate will serve us and continue to strengthen our Nation in the years ahead.

Moreover, he taught through example. He has left the American youth of this and future generations both a challenge and a pattern of conduct for citizenship, as well as public life. I hold forth the qualities he followed as a legacy—a gift to the youth of our Nation.

What can our young citizens of today find here to emulate? A course of conduct that inspires confidence; absolute personal dedication; noble purposes always foremost as a motive and objective; standards in public and private life unexcelled; a willingness to serve; a willingness to lead and endlessly carry the penalty of leadership; and above all else, the attainment of being an honorable man.

Youth and others will find here a man and a record that fully live up to the everlasting call of the poet, Gilbert Holland, who said:

God, give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Strong men, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.

No remembrance would be complete without a word about the simplicity of his personal life. Following long toil—often many months without a break—his idea of a real treat was not a visit to some renowned spot, or some foreign country, but rather to spend a few days with the people of Georgia, including a visit to Winder, to be with his mother, his sisters, his brothers, his nieces, his nephews, and other kin whom he admired and loved so much. The principal objectives of Senator Russell's devotion in life were his relatives, the State and the people of Georgia, his country and, particularly, the United States Senate.

Even though his influence was nationwide, and he carried responsibilities for the entire Nation, his first devotion was always to the State of Georgia and her people. From this he never varied.

And so it is proper that the mortal remains of this renowned and loyal son of the State of Georgia were brought directly to the capitol of the State that he loved, there to be directly revered by the people he faithfully served—the people he never forgot.

So, now, in a few moments, we shall return the mortal remains of this great man to the red soil of Georgia to rest beside his noted parents and his other dear and respected ones.

Should I attempt to summarize the career and the qualities of this matchless man with a single word applied to his name, my summary would be:

"Richard Brevard Russell—Patriot"—May God rest his honorable soul.

Mr. President, that concludes the words of the eulogy.

One further word: he told me soon after I arrived as a Senator, and I am sure he said the same to many others in their time:

> You are the newest arrival here, but you are a full-fledged member, entitled to be heard and to exercise your influence as well as cast your vote. However, there is something here that is far more important than you, or any other Senator; in fact, more important than all Senators—that is, the Senate itself.

Thus he spoke; thus he lived; and thus in his 38 years here he made the greatest contribution, I believe, of this century to the Senate as an institution of problems that have beset us.

Many have said he was an honorable man, and indeed he was. Truly his was a noble character. All of us in the Senate and in the Nation owe him a great deal, but no one owes him more than I do.

It is impossible to fully review the influence that Senator Russell had on legislation during his long service in this body. It extends to many hundreds of pieces of legislation, some of which were enacted and some of which were not.

His position on legislative matters dealing with security of this country is well known. To state it simply, he believed that we had to do whatever was necessary to protect the American way of life.

However, he knew that the American way of life that had to be protected dictated that the military must be subjected to absolute civilian control, and his thinking on this subject is the basis of our system today.

Senator Russell recognized that, in order to have an adequate defense posture in this country, we must have a system of selective service. However, the fact that the draft was not a completely fair system to all young men involved was a matter that caused him great concern, and he considered as one of his greatest legislative accomplishments the passage in the Senate shortly after World War II of the Universal Military Training Act, even though this legislation never passed the other body. Typically, it was his position that, if one young American had to be called to serve his country, then every young American should share in this responsibility.

Senator Russell was one of the leaders in the Congress for the development of atomic energy, and he was one of the original members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He recognized early that such a potent force must be brought under absolute civilian control, rather than under the military, and he was one of the leaders in the efforts to establish the Atomic Energy Commission. This was typical of his philosophy that we must have a strong military, but one which would always be subject to absolute civilian control.

Following World War II, Senator Russell, along with others, recognized that the intelligence operation of this country had to be brought under one central head. It was his view that such an important function should be outside the military as an independent agency, answerable directly to the President, and the Central Intelligence Agency as we know it today reflects his thinking on this matter.

Just as Senator Russell recognized the potentials of atomic energy, he recognized the potential of our efforts in space. He agreed with the basic decision that this country's space efforts should be a civilian effort, but he recognized that there were certain areas in space that had tremendous military application and insisted that the Department of Defense have the responsibility for space development in those areas. The rules of this body in establishing the jurisdiction of the Committees on Armed Services and Aeronautical and Space Sciences recognize this philosophy.

One of his areas of interest that I think he enjoyed the most was legislation involving agriculture and conservation of resources. Shortly after he came to the Senate, he became chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, and he served as chairman of this subcommittee or as its ranking minority member for 30 years.

His accomplishments as chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee and while he was a member of the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Forestry during his early years of service in the Senate were landmarks in the development of programs of the Department of Agriculture which are often taken for granted today.

As chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, he provided in an appropriation bill for the initiation of the hot school lunch program which has been vastly expanded over the years. He was a strong supporter of the rural electrification program. He was a strong and consistent supporter of the Farmers Home Administration program under the Bankhead-Jones Act and other legislation of the early New Deal days. He was a strong and consistent supporter of soil and water conservation programs. Many times he took action, as chairman of the subcommittee, to increase the appropriations over and above the budget estimates for the soil and water conservation programs which have made such a great contribution to the preservation of the Nation's soil and water resources. He was a strong supporter of agricultural research both at the national level and in payments to our nationwide system of land grant colleges and State universities. Similarly, he supported the expansion of the program for the county extension service throughout the Nation. In all aspects of appropriations dealing with the Department of Agriculture and its many programs, Senator Russell was known as a true and tested friend. Notwithstanding the adversi-

ties of budget strictures, he, as chairman, recommended for consideration of the Senate the funding which he thought necessary to maintain—and in many instances, to enlarge upon—vital agriculture programs which served not only the American farmer but also served us all in protecting our resources and in providing a strong and viable American agriculture.

Hon. Jacob K. Javits
OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, I had the great honor and privilege of serving with Senator Russell ever since I came to the Senate. Therefore, I think it is almost my duty to speak in memoriam of the Senator, with whom, in my earliest days I developed profound differences of viewpoint, and yet those differences were matched equally with a rising tide of regard which was one of the best elements of my education in the Senate. The greatest tribute that I could pay to Senator Russell is that his friendship for me, which was manifested in many ways, increased rather than diminished with the degree to which we found ourselves on opposite sides of the monumental and historic civil rights issues that were before the Senate.

He was unqualifiedly and unreservedly a gentleman in the finest American tradition. He was a parliamentarian to the very innermost core of his being. Because he understood the nature of our differences, and that the differences were not personal, this added immeasurably to the respect of one man for the other. So I have a very dear memory of this remarkable historic figure in the U.S. Senate, from very revealing and rather extensive personal experiences.

The second point, Mr. President, that impressed me about Senator Russell, was the fact that he always had a remarkable knowledge of the facts. He was an extraordinary debater who always tested your mettle by having rational and reasonable arguments in support of his positions which compelled you to respond no matter how much you might differ with him. These arguments were not assumed just for the sake of the occasion, but were held with deep sincerity in what he considered manifestly to be the highest interests of our Nation.

Finally, Senator Russell was a man whose word was as good as his bond. He had an almost reverent sense of discretion and personal taste in his relations to the greatest affairs of the Nation as in his relations to individuals.

Mr. President, his voice was an absolutely indispensable element, much as I may have disagreed with him on many occasions, of the total decisionmaking process which is the very pride of the Senate of the United States. This has now been lost, and will be very hard to replace. Indeed, we can only hope and pray that another Member or Members will be found who can measure up to his ability and will make his voice count as heavily as Richard Russell did in respect of the high decisions which we must make in our land.

Hon. Henry M. Jackson
OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, the United States has lost a great servant of the Republic. Richard Russell personified the highest ideals of patriotism. During the long years of his service to this country, he proved a wise and prudent statesman in foreign policy and defense.

A strong constitutionalist, Richard Russell understood and respected the central role and the special responsibilities of a President in national security affairs. Small wonder that all Presidents, regardless of party, turned to him for counsel and criticism, starting with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Small wonder, also, that the two living former Presidents speak of Senator Russell with deep respect and profound gratitude for his advice and steadiness in times of national crisis.

The Senate has lost a giant of its history. Richard Russell was a great parliamentarian and a superb legislator who commanded the respect of all Senators regardless of political persuasion. No man in the Senate's history so well understood the rules and precedents, and so mastered the art of legislation. Many of us who joined this body as younger Senators, will remember him as long as we live with grateful affection for his dedication as a Senator which inspired us, his wisdom in legislating which chastened us, and his support at critical junctures which encouraged us.

It has been my honor and privilege to be closely associated with Senator Russell for more than 18 years. I have lost a dear friend. We are thankful for his character, for his modesty and selflessness,

for his devotion to his family, for his outgoing good will to his friends, for his high honor as a man. We extend to those who most intimately mourn his going our heartfelt sympathy.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright
OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, probably no man was ever more dedicated to the U.S. Senate than Richard Russell. He made it his life, and he served long and honorably.

For nearly four decades, the Senate and the Nation have benefited from his leadership. Few men in history have exerted as much influence in Congress as Senator Russell.

In my own years of service in the Senate, I have observed on countless occasions the wisdom and judgment brought to bear by the Senator from Georgia. Frequently, I worked alongside Senator Russell on the many matters on which we agreed. On occasion we held opposing views, but this never altered my respect and admiration for him.

In recent years, one matter of major importance about which we were both concerned was the constitutional role of the Senate in foreign affairs, particularly in regard to national commitments. We were in complete agreement about the importance of preserving and strengthening the influence of the Senate upon the policies of our Government. He believed, as I do, that full and thorough discussion of important issues on the Senate floor is indispensable to the preservation of a genuine democratic system, responsive to the needs of the people of this country.

In July of 1967, Senator Russell and I engaged in a colloquy in the Senate in regard to the dispatch by the Government of some transport planes to the Congo. We were both concerned that this might well be a prelude to a new military intervention.

Senator Russell made a statement in that discussion—July 10, 1967—that I think we would do well to long remember. He said:

> Mr. President, I have spent most of my career here in the Senate laboring and working to try to assure that the armed strength of these United States is sufficient to defend the people of this country; but I have not spent that time and that effort striving to create forces that would be sent all over the world under such circumstances as these people are going. "Oh," Senators might say, "there are only about 100 of them; about 60 Air Force people and 45 paratroopers." But . . . Vietnam started out with a force not much larger than this. This presence can swell, and it will swell . . . We should have enough commonsense to keep our heads, and keep our people out of situations of that kind over the world. It is disheartening to me to see such abuse of the military forces of the United States.

Our discussion that day was a part of the impetus for the National Commitments Resolution, passed by the Senate on June 25, 1969. The Senator from Georgia and I discussed the matter and considered this would be a proper way to reassert what we thought to be the legitimate function of the Senate in participating in the making of commitments by the United States. He was very instrumental in the formulation of the resolution.

Senator Russell was a man blessed with a great deal of commonsense. He was also a professional, in the best sense of the word, whose understanding of the Government and the legislative process has seldom been matched.

He was a public servant of the highest caliber, and the loss to his State of Georgia, the Senate, and the Nation is a considerable one, and to me personally it is a great loss.

Hon. Mark O. Hatfield
OF OREGON

Mr. President, with the passing of Senator Richard Russell, the Senate lost one who has served this body with tireless dedication for 38 years. History will remember him for his resolute commitment to his ideals and for the selfless service he has rendered to the U.S. Senate. He will be regarded as one of the finest and most notable Senators to serve in this body during the 20th century.

He knew the dangers of overcommitting ourselves in Southeast Asia. During the very first days of our involvement in Vietnam, back in 1954, he told the administration that he was "weary of seeing American soldiers being used as gladiators to be thrown into every arena around the world," and warned that our involvement would be "a long drawn-out affair costly in both blood and treasure."

Yet, while many have focused attention on Senator Russell's distinguished accomplishments

during his tenure of service, I will always remember this very distinguished gentleman as one who extended to me and to all I know the kindness and personal consideration which always exemplified his actions. Edmund Burke once said:

> Manners are of more importance than laws. Upon them, in a great measure, the laws depend.

In all of my personal dealings with the late Senator I was most deeply impressed with the generosity and respect which he demonstrated in all his relationships with fellow Senators. In times of growing divisiveness, it is well to remember that simple acts of personal kindness can build the bonds which will transcend the barriers of political ideology. Richard Russell was one who knew and demonstrated this truth; that is perhaps the deepest reason for us to regret his passing.

Hon. James B. Allen
OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, I am always made humble by the fact that the only way in which 3.5 million Alabamians can be heard on the floor of the U.S. Senate is through their two U.S. Senators.

My distinguished senior colleague (Mr. Sparkman) has already spoken. It is an honor and a privilege for me, at this time, to be able to address the Senate on behalf of the people of Alabama to express our admiration, and our respect, for this great Senator, this great Georgian, this great southerner—this great American; and to have the opportunity to express my own deep sense of personal loss at his passing.

When I was a schoolboy in Alabama, I remember the time Senator Russell was elected Governor of the State of Georgia. From afar I followed his career with great interest, respect, and admiration. On one occasion, in 1952, when he was, I might say, a reluctant candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, I had the privilege of casting the very first vote in the Democratic National Convention for his nomination for the Presidency.

It was the first vote because at that time it was the privilege of any member of a delegation to ask that the delegation be polled, and since my name was the first one among the Alabama delegates to that convention, my name was called first and I, therefore, had the opportunity to cast the first vote for Senator Russell for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

When I was elected to the Senate in 1968, and as I contemplated the service I was going to have the privilege of rendering in the Senate, I thought, which one of the Senators do I wish to emulate, which one do I wish to look to for leadership? It was not difficult to reach the conclusion that I wanted to follow the leadership of Senator Russell, to walk in his footsteps, and to emulate him in my service in the Senate.

Mr. President, in the Senate Reception Room, there are pictures of five distinguished former U.S. Senators. They were chosen by a commission headed by then Senator John F. Kennedy, as the five greatest Senators of all time. They are Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Taft, and LaFollette. Certainly, no one would say that Senator Russell was not the peer of any of those great men.

Mr. President, when a person, through the years, has thought of the U.S. Senate, the first person who has come to his mind, I believe, in most every instance, would be that of Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia, for he was truly the personification of the designation of the Senate as the greatest deliberative body in the world.

It has been said that if Senator Russell had lived in another section of our country, in all likelihood he would have been elected as President of the United States. That is certainly a sentiment we enjoy meditating upon, and it is a sentiment which may well be true. But I am wondering, Mr. President, whether Senator Russell, if he had been born in a section of the country other than the South, would have been the same Senator Russell that we all loved and admired and respected. I am wondering whether the intellectual honesty that certainly was the hallmark of Senator Russell would have allowed him to come to any political philosophy other than the one to which he came. Also I am wondering whether he would have been the great and admirable leader of a lost cause that made him so dear to Members of the Senate and to the people throughout the country.

Mr. President, even though Senator Russell became a nationally and internationally known figure, he never ceased to be a Georgian. So now home is the warrior, home among the hills of his great State of Georgia, among the people he loved and the people who loved him best.

I am wondering if even the Presidency itself would have gilded or embellished the career of this great Senator, whose 38 years of service in this body most assuredly set him apart as a great statesman and a great patriot. I am wondering whether he would have been greater in stature even if he had served as President of the United States. I believe that the career of Senator Russell could not have been embellished even by service in the Presidency. Who remembers who served as Presidents during the days of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun?

So, Mr. President, speaking on behalf of the people of Alabama, and speaking for myself, I say that America has lost a great statesman, a great patriot, and a great leader.

In the words of the poet, "This was the truest warrior that ever buckled sword."

Hon. Frank Church
OF IDAHO

Mr. President, I wish to express my sorrow over the death of Richard B. Russell and the consequential loss of a Senator of transcendent stature.

When I first came to the Senate, in January 1957, Richard Russell had already served 24 years. Last Thursday, when he passed away after a long siege at Walter Reed Hospital, the senior Senator from Georgia had spent the greater part of his life as a Member of this body.

Those years were spent in the assiduous pursuit of excellence. No Senator who watched Dick Russell function, whether on this floor, or in the cloakrooms, or in the discharge of his committee responsibilities, could help but marvel at his legislative skills. His mastery of the rules knew no peer.

Dick Russell decided, as a young man, to devote his talents to public service. At age 23 a State legislator, at 33 the youngest man ever to serve as Governor of his native Georgia; a U.S. Senator at 36.

When he came here, on January 12, 1933, he joined the company of such celebrities as William E. Borah of my own State of Idaho, George Norris, of Nebraska, Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, and his esteemed colleague, Walter George. It was not long before the name of Richard B. Russell was to be added to this select list of senatorial statesmen.

Ultimately, before he died, having served 38 years in the U.S. Senate, Richard B. Russell became the "dean of the Senate." But, in his case, this was more than a title. Senator Russell was, in truth, dean among his fellow Senators, dean among the parliamentarians of his country, and dean in the affections of his colleagues.

Consequently, it is appropriate that the obituary published in the New York Times should describe him in these words:

> He was a master of parliamentary maneuvers, a formidable debator, a Senator's Senator who preferred quiet evenings at home memorizing Senate rules to moving around the lively Washington cocktail circuit.

This was Richard B. Russell, courtly and genteel, patriotic and incorruptible, universally respected because he was, above all else, an honorable man.

His passing is like the felling of a great tree in a small forest. No other loomed so large as he in this Senate that he loved and served so well.

Hon. Russell B. Long
OF LOUISIANA

Mr. President, for many years Richard Russell was the ablest Member of the Senate. I recall in 1953 when I was one of those privileged to be invited to a luncheon honoring Richard Russell's 20 years in the Senate. Most of us who attended the meeting on that occasion felt that he had achieved that standing so envied among all Members of this body of being the most effective Senator here. He remained in contention for that distinction from that date forward.

He was a code of ethics in the Senate; not one who was pontifical or holier than thou, but one who conducted himself in a manner that was approved, agreed, and followed by other Senators.

Richard Russell was an adviser of Senators, not because he needlessly suggested to one what he should do, but because one could—and frequently would—go to Richard Russell to seek his counsel. Invariably his advice was sound. I know that I was one of those who many times went to him. I was always glad that I did.

I can recall one occasion when the then majority leader went to Senator Russell and asked him what he would do under the circumstances that existed at the time. Senator Russell asked:

Well, did you make the statement that you were going to follow a certain procedure here today?

The then majority leader said that he had, although he found himself in a difficult position because he had done so.

Senator Russell said:

Well, if you said you were going to do it, then I think you ought to do it.

It was just that simple.

That was rather typical of Senator Russell. He could find a very simple answer for a very complicated problem. And invariably the answer seemed to be correct.

That was so because Dick Russell possessed in such a tremendous abundance the one thing which is undoubtedly the scarcest commodity in government—commonsense.

He was an adviser of Presidents. Many times a President sought Richard Russell's advice. He was correctly described in a syndicated column of yesterday as a President's Senator.

It was my privilege to observe him meeting with Presidents on occasion. He never once departed from his role of a U.S. Senator. He never suggested to a President that he should transgress the separation of powers between the Senate and the Presidency or between the House and the Presidency. Yet Senator Russell would advise a President what he thought was sensible, what he thought was the answer to a particular problem. And the President could feel that Richard Russell, having so advised him, would pursue a parallel course that would not cause the President to regret that he had sought Richard Russell's advice.

One could work with him. Richard Russell would meet a fellow Senator halfway. Richard Russell never departed, even in terms of compromise, from his deep, inner convictions.

The Senate does not replace a man like Richard Russell. The void is filled by what other men have to offer. But for a period of time, the general level will be somewhat lower than it was while we were privileged to have him among us.

After an appropriate passage of time, I would like to offer a resolution proposing that a place be set aside for Richard Russell in the Senate Reception Room, along with Webster, Clay, Calhoun, LaFollette, and Taft. He belongs in that company. I will not propose it at this time because I would not want to see the Senate's judgment of him prejudiced by the strong emotion and grief that many of us feel at the passing of this great man. I think we should do it with the thoughtful and dispassionate view that is appropriate for such selection. I would like to see Senator Russell appropriately honored by being in the kind of company he deserves.

One can state that it was a frustrating experience for a man of this greatness to have failed to be elevated to the Presidency or Vice Presidency of the United States. I do not think it so. A number of great Senators have failed to measure up to what we had a right to expect of them because they thought they should go beyond the U.S. Senate.

It can be a very satisfying experience for a man to serve here with the type of honor and distinction with which Richard Russell graced this body.

We have lost a great Senator. However, I must say, Mr. President, that when one can make the kind of record Richard Russell has made, he has satisfied everything that one man could ask in this life.

Hon. Milton R. Young
OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I am deeply saddened, as is every Member of the Senate, at the death of our esteemed colleague Senator Richard B. Russell.

History will record him as one of the greatest alltime members of the U.S. Senate. He was a brilliant man, and an intellectual in the highest sense of the word. This, coupled with his great courage, sound judgment, and lovable personality, won for him the respect and admiration of everyone. No Senator in my time has been more highly respected and revered.

He could be critical on occasion, but his criticism never descended to the personal basis. He could be frankly partisan but it was a dispassionate partisanship, based on the accumulation of evidence and the conviction that he was right. Nor was it his nature to temporize, regardless of consequence. He had a courage bred of character, nurtured by his upbringing, and embodied in integrity.

He was a Senator's Senator.

To all who knew him well, and there were many, it was a high honor to be considered his friend. He possessed a personal warmth and a concern for his fellow man that reflected his great humanity. One had only to be in his presence for a short time to be warmed by his charm and enriched by his keen intellect. His advice was sought by those in the highest offices of this Nation, by his peers and colleagues, by the common man. And he gave it freely, objectively, without reservation.

Matthew Arnold said of Sophocles that he saw life clearly and he saw it whole. Certainly this was true of the senior Senator from the State of Georgia. He was gifted with an uncommon depth of vision, a breadth of experience, an outstanding knowledge of the world and its history, and unerring instinct that made his every word an invaluable distillation of measured judgment. Ours is a greater Nation because of Senator Russell.

To me, Dick Russell's passing brings a very personal grief. I enjoyed a closer personal friendship and working relationship with him than with any other Senator. I was fortunate when I first came to the Senate to become closely associated with him. For many years we cosponsored farm legislation, and all during my time in the Senate we had worked together as ranking members on agriculture appropriations and later on defense appropriations.

In recent years, I worked with him even more closely on the Senate Appropriations Committee—he as chairman and I as ranking Republican. In this and every other working relationship I had with him, he was a tower of strength and always most helpful to me.

I have been a better Senator because of Dick Russell.

He was a modest man, but he had an uncanny ability to look into the future and foresee the basic needs of our country and, however, unpopular the issue, through his indomitable will and courage, to press for the successful accomplishment of these goals. He shared with Thomas Jefferson the belief that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. From the time he came to the Senate until the day he died almost four decades later, he strove unceasingly to provide a strong national defense. A defense that he strongly believed would deter potential aggressors.

Long years ago, when Senator Russell was a little boy, he inscribed in his fourth grade composition book an imaginary conversation given by a tiny star high in the heaven. He wrote:

> "I cannot do much," said the little star, "to make the dark world bright. My silver beams cannot pierce far into the gleam of night. Yet I am part of God's plan and I shall do the best I can."

Dick Russell was a part of God's plan. I know that his silver beams did pierce far into the gleam of America's night.

To his family, I offer my deepest sympathy. He maintained and cherished the close bonds of blood that united him with each individual that was his kin. His affection for them bespoke the pride with which he held them and their accomplishments.

Apart from his family and friends, Dick Russell had three loves.

He loved his State, and represented it in a way that made him Georgia's most valuable individual possession.

He loved the U.S. Senate, protected its function, and enhanced its prestige by his presence.

But most of all he loved the United States of America and devoted his strength and wisdom into fashioning a Nation that was strong in its character, bountiful in its largess, respected among other nations, and revered by its people.

His State has lost its greatest citizen. The Senate has lost a great mentor.

Our country has lost one of its most noble patriots.

And I have lost one of the best and closest friends I ever had.

Hon. Gordon Allott

OF COLORADO

Mr. President, today we mourn a varied loss. The United States has lost a noble statesman. The Senate has lost one of the most skillful and revered men to ever grace this Chamber. And each of us has lost a cherished friend.

Richard Brevard Russell has died. But he will live on as long as the United States endures. Henry Adams once wrote:

> A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops.

The same is true of a statesman who leaves a lasting mark on the polity he serves. And it is especially true of a statesman such as Senator Russell, who was a great teacher as well as a great statesman. In fact, he understood that the role of teacher was a necessary dimension of the role of statesman. He felt it was his duty not just to cleave to constitutional principles, but to be their effective advocate among those whose understanding of them was insufficient, or whose affection for them was weak.

It is for us, his colleagues, and for all Americans, his beneficiaries, to rededicate ourselves to the timeless truths to which he, like the Founding Fathers he so much resembled, was faithful.

These principles are as clear, practicable and lucid as they were when the Founding Fathers propounded them. They are the essential principles of constitutional federalism. They concern the necessary division of political labor between the various hierarchies of government, a division that is sensible in terms of efficiency, and prudent in terms of the preservation of the people's liberties.

These principles are Washingtonian—they hold that the highest act of statesmanship is to discipline the appetite for power. These principles are Madisonian—they hold that the Federal appetite must conform to the constitutional fact that the Federal Government's proper powers are those—and only those—which are delegated by the States.

These principles are Jeffersonian—they hold that that government is best which governs least. These principles are Lincolnian—they hold that it is the duty of the government to do for its citizens those things which the citizens cannot do for themselves.

But above all stands the fundamental principle of popular government—the principle that, in a system of separation of powers, legislative supremacy is the keystone of good government. This great principle—that the legislative branch is the first branch of government—is not associated with one great man. Rather, it is associated with all America's great legislators, from Clay and Webster and Calhoun through Taft and Hayden and Richard Russell.

These principles, distilled by the Founding Fathers from the great philosophers of popular government, and cast by the Founding Fathers into vital, enduring institutions, are not much in fashion these days. But Senator Russell was not concerned with being fashionable. He was concerned with every citizen's duty, and with his oath of office, both of which require steadfast resistance to those whose understanding of our Constitution is inversely proportional to the energy they invest in trying to "improve" upon the Founding Fathers.

Senator Russell of Georgia spent his life in service to the various constituencies to which we as Senators are responsible. He was attentive to the interests and dedicated to the principles of his State. But he also had a deep interest in, and profound understanding of, the larger national and international issues of his day.

His "day" in the Senate was nearly 14,000 days, during which the problems confronting the American people, at home and abroad, grew in number, complexity and seriousness. But Senator Russell grew, too, until he attained a position of preeminence and respect rarely enjoyed by any man in any period of American history. I am proud to have served with him.

Mr. President, it is hard to make these remarks about Richard Russell without becoming involved in deep emotion. Certainly here was one man who, because of his character, because of his strength, because of his adherence to principle, endeared himself and enshrined himself forever in the hearts of all of us.

Hon. George D. Aiken
OF VERMONT

Mr. President, it seems almost like an act of futility for me to try to add to the words of appreciation of and respect for our late colleague, Richard Russell.

It has been my privilege to have served with Senator Russell from the first day I arrived in the Senate, and it has been a still greater privilege to have served with him on committees during all the years that I have been a Member of this body. For the first few years it was on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. After a few years, Richard Russell left the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to take positions on committees which were of greater national import at that particular time—the Committees on Armed Serv-

ices and Appropriations. I am sure that he always regretted that he could not remain a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, because his heart was always in the rural areas of his State and of the Nation.

During all of the years that I was privileged to serve with him, I found he was always considerate, cooperative, knowledgeable, and helpful. He had a passionate devotion to his State and to his country. His experience served both his State and the country well, as evidenced by the fact that he was reeelected virtually without trouble from his home State of Georgia time and time again.

As I said, it is almost futile to try to add to the expressions which have already been made upon the Senate floor. I simply want to conclude my statement by saying that we are a better Nation today because Richard Russell lived and served.

Hon. Alan Bible
OF NEVADA

Mr. President, most Americans knew Senator Richard Russell as a giant of the American legislative process who wielded enormous persuasion in shaping the laws by which we live. They did not share our great fortune in knowing him also as an extraordinary personality who seemed to possess all the praiseworthy virtues of mankind.

As the most senior among us, he occupied a position of special stature and commanded an extra measure of respect. But he merited our deference even without that distinction. For we relied upon his remarkable mind as a source of concise and sound judgments on any subject of mutual concern.

The fact is, Richard Russell had authoritative knowledge of every aspect of American Government and a brilliant grasp of the most important of those areas. No man knew more about the Nation's defense posture and our overseas intelligence network. No man had greater expertise on the appropriations process.

Those who borrowed liberally from his accumulated wisdom, and acted upon his advice, profited accordingly. A few moments of his time offered a shortcut to answers otherwise requiring long hours of scholarship.

If we would choose one word to summarize his splendid record of achievement, it would be "leadership." Richard Russell was a born leader. He was a member of the Georgia House of Representatives at the age of 24, speaker of the house at the age of 29, the youngest Governor of the State of Georgia at the age of 33, and the youngest Member of the U.S. Senate at the age of 35.

No office in America was beyond his immense ability. Indeed, the vigor of his leadership, the creative brilliance of his ideas, and the warmth of his personality made him ideally suited for the Nation's highest office. Most political observers agree with President Nixon and President Truman that Richard Russell would have occupied that office had geographic circumstances not been a consideration. In any event, I am proud that I supported him in his candidacy, and voted for him in the Chicago convention of 1952.

For whatever measure of success I have achieved in my service here, Richard Russell deserves substantial credit. He was more than a friend. He was a mentor who provided direction and purpose and a clear understanding of the means to secure effective action within the legislative framework. He was particularly helpful to me during our long and close association on the Appropriations Committee, but I relied upon him for suggestions and advice in a great many other areas of endeavor.

I feel a keen sense of loss. It is a feeling shared by other Members of this body, and by all the American people. It is a feeling that comes when a great man has passed from among us, and we know we shall never again see his like. For Richard Russell, the distinguished senior Senator from the State of Georgia, was one of a kind—a giant of the 20th century. We are immeasurably richer for having known him, and infinitely poorer by his passing.

Hon. John L. McClellan
OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Georgia, Senator Richard B. Russell, whose passing we mourn today, served for 38 years as a Member of this body. It was my privilege and pleasure to serve with him during the last 28

years of his service here. During that time I served with him for 22 years on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate.

During these most pleasant and enriching associations, I came to know him well. My personal friendship, respect, and esteem for him increased with each passing year.

Richard Russell was a strong man. He was a pillar of strength in national affairs. I had occasion often to seek his wise and friendly counsel as I deliberated on important issues that came before this body for solution.

Mr. President, to eulogize Senator Richard B. Russell is to eulogize the Senate, for in many ways he was the spirit, the sense, and the soul of this great body.

Dick Russell was the embodiment of the Senate tradition, the fount of its wisdom, the example of its excellence, the epitome of its dignity, the image of its greatness, and the reflection of its elegance.

This was a hallowed Chamber to him—one which he deeply revered and one which he richly graced by his noble stature and profound wisdom.

Counsel to Presidents, Senators, family, and friends, Dick Russell gave of himself unstintingly, unselfishly—indeed, he gave his all until there was no more to give.

An unswerving disciple of constitutional government, Dick Russell was dedicated to the principles upon which this Nation was founded. He was an uncommon man devoted to the common notion that this Nation was to be governed by the people.

Dick Russell revered America's institutions—from the family to the Senate. He cherished them, honored them, protected them, and served them with every ounce of strength and intellect.

Dick Russell was a gentle man who had no enemies—only adversaries—and they were counted among his friends.

Dick Russell was a great American—eminent statesman—and a good friend. But he was first—last—and always—a U.S. Senator.

To me Dick Russell was the sage of the Senate. Better than any man, he knew the Senate, he captured its essence, savored it, labored in it and loved it.

Perhaps in another time—another era—he could have climbed higher mountains, but he was content, indeed, happy in his work, and proud to labor in the National Legislative Vineyard.

Measured against all earthly standards, Dick Russell excels. And in the judgment of the Good Book he measures equally well for it is written that he who—

> Walketh uprightly—
> Worketh righteously—
> and
> Speaketh the truth in his heart,
> Shall dwell with the Lord.

Dick Russell truly served his Master, his people, and his Nation in that manner.

We have lost Dick Russell and his wise advice, kindly counsel, courtly demeanor, and unassailable logic will be sorely missed. But as some unknown poet has said:

> When a star quenched on high,
> For Ages would its light
> Still travel downward from the sky
> Shine on our mortal sight,
> So when a great man dies,
> For years beyond our ken
> The light he leaves behind him lies
> Upon the paths of men.

The light Dick Russell left behind him will shine on the paths of Members of this body for untold years to come.

Mrs. McClellan joins with me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Dick Russell's family.

Hon. Edward J. Gurney

OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, it is an understatement to say that the late Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia was one of the truly great Members of this illustrious body. His passing is a national loss, an implaceable loss to this unique legislative body, to his great State of Georgia, and also a personal loss to his host of friends in Washington.

There were very few men in our Nation's history who had such an enormous influence on national policies for so long a time, as did Senator Russell.

He fulfilled his responsibilities over the years honorably and courageously. He always did his duty, whether it was on the Pearl Harbor inquiry, the investigation concerning President

Truman's removal of General MacArthur during the Korean war, or the Warren Commission to investigate the assassination of our late President, John F. Kennedy.

Senator Russell brought splendid natural gifts into the service of his country; and to those natural gifts, he added great learning, great industry and great attention to his work. He spent more than half his life in this historic Chamber, and he knew the ways of the U.S. Senate as few men ever have or ever will.

Even when Members disagreed with Senator Russell, they found they had to respect him personally and professionally. The personal integrity of Richard Russell was universally recognized in Washington and even when their disagreement on an issue was total, Richard Russell's opponents continued to admire the man. And, in that statement, is a measure of the man: Richard Russell had many opponents on many issues over the years, but he had no personal enemies; his opponents were also his friends and admirers.

Richard Russell was a good man, a patriot and a statesman. He was one of the best Senators who ever served in this Chamber. We pray that his great and generous soul may rest in peace forever.

Hon. Edward W. Brooke
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. President, all the Members of this body, and indeed all the citizens of this Nation, have reason for sadness and a sense of loss at the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell.

A private man; an honorable man; a thoughtful and determined man—these are the phrases which come to mind in describing Richard Russell.

None who serves this Nation can hope to solve, or even to deal with, all the problems which we face. But in terms of sheer output and effect on human life Senator Russell's 38 years in the Senate have been among the most productive in our history.

Because of his understanding of poverty and youth, 18 million children now enjoy the benefits of a school lunch program. Because of his familiarity with the hardships of rural life, many millions of families across this Nation have had their lot improved through the rural electrification program. Because he could see the better future science offered, many billions of dollars have been allocated to agricultural, conservation, and medical research.

Senator Russell is probably best remembered in our time for his dedication to the cause of national security. It is true, he has done much to keep our country militarily strong, and to reward those who participate in its defense. But Senator Russell will also be remembered for the many measures he promoted to keep our country strong in faith and promise.

It has been said the Senator's father once told his seven sons that: "All of them could not be brilliant, all of them could not be successful, but all of them could be honorable." It is our privilege to have known, and now to honor, a man who was all three.

Mr. President, former Senator Leverett B. Saltonstall, who served in this body for many years, has asked that I include his tribute with my own, as follows:

DEAR SENATOR BROOKE: As a colleague and friend of Senator Dick Russell for over twenty years and as a committee member with him on the Armed Services Committee and Defense Appropriations Sub-committee for most of that period I appreciate your permitting me to join with his many friends in paying my small tribute to his extraordinary service in the United States Senate. He was not only respected and admired for his knowledge of the needs of our Nation's Security but above all for his understanding of the ideals and history of the Senate and his integrity and personal character. He was above reproach in all his many years of service in that body.

I have personally lost a dear friend with whom I served so closely for all my years in the Senate.

I appreciate, Senator Brooke, your courtesy in making it possible for me to add my tribute to Senator Russell.

LEVERETT B. SALTONSTALL.

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
OF OHIO

Mr. President, it is a sad fact that the first words a new Member of this body should have to say on the floor of the Senate should relate to the loss of one of its greatest Members, Senator Richard Russell.

I was privileged to know Senator Russell personally and to admire him greatly. But I speak especially because I know of the high regard in which my father held Richard Russell and the close and warm friendship between them and

the importance of their work together. I know also of my father's great regard for Senator Russell's integrity and legislative ability. I think particularly that they understood the principles that were necessary to be maintained and at the same time the art of legislative compromise.

It seems almost a personal deprivation and misfortune that we new Members of the Senate cannot be privileged to serve with Senator Russell. But his mark will be here—an inspiration for those of us who now serve here and a mark for which we can strive even though we doubt our ability to attain it.

I extend to the Russell family my deep sympathy. The Nation joins in our grief at his loss and offers admiration and gratitude for his dedicated and invaluable years of service.

Hon. Ernest F. Hollings
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, today we mourn the passing of this century's most effective legislator. One would have to hearken back to the days of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster to find the peer of Richard Brevard Russell. His influence is enshrined not only in the books of law but also in the very character of the Senate. It is a better body for the years that Richard Russell spent here.

In honoring the leading statesman of the Senate, we pay homage to an idea as well as gratitude for the man. The idea is the nobility of character, a concept whose praises are often sung but whose strictures are as often breached. It was the character of the man that led President John F. Kennedy to describe him as "the most individually respected member" of the U.S. Senate. It was his character that impelled Senator Russell to devote his every energy to the performance of his duties, often under the duress of extreme physical discomfort. He read the Congressional Record, all of it, each day. He studied the rules of parliamentary procedure as perhaps no Member of this Chamber has ever done. Such perseverance, obvious in all the daily transactions of his life, won the universal esteem of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

The character of which I speak by itself entitles a man to the respect of his fellows. But in Senator Russell's mind there was something else, for his was a character nourished by superior wisdom. Time and again the course of events has vindicated his judgments. On the issue of our early involvement in Vietnam, for example, Senator Russell counseled against our entry. But once the commitment was made, he fought valiantly for a more vigorous prosecution of our military effort. Would that we followed his advice. No slave to out-dated dogma, he led his people toward a new and better era. He was perhaps proudest of his sponsorship of the school lunch program which earned him the grateful thanks of men and women all across the land.

Few men are cloaked in the power and influence which belonged to this proud son of Georgia. An acknowledged expert on military and financial matters, his suggestions and bills more often than not found their way into the law of the land. Yet Richard Russell had no worship of power. He wielded his vast authority with the care and thoughtful concern of a sage. He recoiled from the pomp which attended his power, preferring the simplicity of his earlier life to the entertainments of a more lavish society. "I am a ham-and-eggs man mostly," he said, but he often found himself at the tables of Presidents who eagerly sought the wisdom of his advice. But for the happenstances of geography, Richard Russell would have been President himself.

His advice was by no means reserved for the six Presidents and dozens of world statesmen who courted him. It was given as openly and freely to anyone willing to invest a few minutes of time. It was my good fortune to be the frequent recipient of his counsel. The morning after my first election to the Senate, I traveled to Winder, Ga., to share in his wisdom. I sought it hundreds of times during the remaining years of his life and was inevitably the better for it.

A member of the Georgia Legislature at age 22, his State's youngest Governor at 33, a Member of the U.S. Senate for over 38 years, Richard Brevard Russell embodied all that a lawmaker should be. Now it is up to us to carry on. As Cicero wrote many years ago, "The life of the dead is placed in the memory of the living." We are the keepers of Richard Russell's work and, hopefully, the disciples of his character. We will honor him best not with tears, but dedication; not with the ornamental splendor of rhetoric, but

with the true splendor of deeds. He sought no monument save honor.

Several years ago, musing on the fate that befalls all mortals, he said:

> I hope it will at least be possible to say of me that I was an honorable man. I do not know of anything that might be said that would better please me.

He was an honorable man. And he leaves an honorable legacy. We will praise him best by following that legacy of character and deeds. In so honoring him, we will exalt our Nation and vindicate ourselves.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson III
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, I rise as one who had the honor, but briefly, to serve in the Senate with Richard Brevard Russell. I cannot embellish the graceful and touching words of my colleagues spoken here in tribute to their departed friend and colleague. But I rise as one who nonetheless shares their loss of Richard Russell, as a Member of the institution to which he devoted most of his life, and as a citizen of the Nation he served for all of his life.

All men who knew Senator Russell recognized the monumental integrity and decency of the man. He personified the Senate—as a man of strong will and purpose and a high intelligence, above all deeply committed to a political tradition which respects the fragility of our self-governing, free and diverse society. He was a civilized man in a still uncivilized world, courteous, and respectful of others and their differences, a patrician politician, the likes of which gave the Nation its birth and since then have helped us keep faith in ourselves and in our prospects for continuing self-government. His death leaves us the poorer and with little consolation, except to think that others may be inspired in angry times by his memory to transmit a gentle spirit, his decency and fairness to the processes by which we govern ourselves.

In conclusion, permit me to express a word about my personal loss.

In 1952, the successful contender for the Democratic presidential nomination affectionately greeted two other contenders at the Democratic Convention as "cousin." All three—my father, Richard Russell, and Alben Barkley—traced their origins to Iredell County, then Roan County, in North Carolina.

In about 1740, a French Huguenot, John Brevard, settled in that county. He sent six sons to the Revolutionary War, and he became a politician, as a justice of the peace and as a member of the North Carolina Assembly. From him descended Richard Brevard Russell and Adlai Stevenson—and with him more than 2 centuries ago may have begun the politics founded on mutual respect, devotion to the democratic principle, and a sense of history which they shared.

It is a source of eminent satisfaction to me that I had the privilege, however briefly, of serving in this body with Senator Russell and that when I first met him on the Senate floor, but a few weeks ago, he greeted the very junior Senator from Illinois as "cousin."

Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, Richard Russell came of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His ancestors came to this country with the King James version of the Bible in their hands and learned from it to fear God and nothing else on earth.

Richard Russell was taught in his youth that of those to whom much is given, much is required. He was also taught that his natural gifts, which were unsurpassed, instead of being for his benefit were for the benefit of his generation and that they imposed upon him an obligation to serve.

Mr. President, Richard Russell was a smalltown southerner. He was brought up in what one novelist so well called the land of red hills and cotton. As a smalltown boy, he knew all the persons in his locality. He had daily associations with them, with the great and the small, with the strong and the weak, with the rich and the poor. He learned from those associations that the most important things in the universe are the individual and the development of the individual.

Of Dick Russell it may well be said that he was, in the finest sense of the term, a gentleman and a scholar. Dick Russell was deeply versed in the history of our Nation. He was deeply versed in constitutional law. He would have graced with distinction a chair of history or chair of constitutional law in any of the institutions of learning in the land.

One of the great strengths of Dick Russell came out of the fact that he was a student of history.

He recognized the truth, which we all too often are tempted to forget, that a nation which ignores the lessons of history is doomed to repeat the mistakes of history.

I think that Dick Russell's essential greatness lay in many qualities, one of which was his innate humility. He had the greatness of humility which is one of the indispensable attributes of a real man.

While he probably may never have phrased it this way, I believe that Dick Russell's great strength and his great service to his country grew out of the fact that he recognized and practiced the great truth expressed by one of Shakespeare's characters:

> This above all; to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

I have been convinced for a long time that there was a certain spiritual kinship and a certain commonness of attitude between Justice Brandeis and Dick Russell. In his great eulogy of Justice Brandeis, Judge Learned Hand had this to say:

> He believed "that there could be no true community save that built upon the personal acquaintances of each with each; by that alone could character and ability be rightly gauged; without that neighborly affection which would result no 'faith' could be nourished, charitable or other."

I think that Dick Russell recognized what I conceive to be the tragic truth of our generation, which all too often has substituted catchword and the formula for deliberation and the exercise of our God-given faculties. I think he realized this truth which was spoken by Judge Learned Hand in his eulogy of Justice Brandeis:

> And yet it is the power of reiterated suggestion and consecrated platitude that at this moment has brought our entire civilization to imminent peril of destruction.

Dick Russell was an individualist. During the past few days, I have been astounded by the number of comments from commentators who proclaim themselves to be liberals, deploring the fact that a man of Dick Russell's talents did not ascend to the political heights he could have ascended in this country because he was not willing to conform to views they entertain.

We are living in an era of conformity. Today's liberalism, which is pseudo-liberalism, demands that everyone have the same thoughts, the same viewpoints, support the same proposals, and that individualism be banished from the land.

Dick Russell was a true liberal in the old-fashioned sense of the word. He believed in the freedom of the individual. He believed in the dignity of the individual. He believed it was the duty of the individual to use his God-given facilities to reach his own conclusions, and then to stand up and fight for those conclusions, whether they suited those who demand conformity or not.

Dick Russell was always unwilling to do anything except be true to himself. He would have been selected as the Democratic leader of this body some years ago, but he declined to be a candidate for the post. He had the conception that it was a man's duty to think his own thoughts, to reach honest conclusions and, having reached those honest conclusions, to stand up and fight for them.

It was an illustration of the fact, as I said, that his life's motto, either consciously or unconsciously, was to be true to himself. Thus, when he became the obvious choice for the position of Democratic leader in the Senate, he declined the post, saying that he could not conscientiously support some of the proposals then being made in the name of the Democratic Party. He was mentally and spiritually incapable of selling the truth to serve the political hour. So he decided it was better to be true to Dick Russell's convictions than to seek higher office.

I have frequently said that Dick Russell was the best qualified man of his generation—qualified by education, qualified by learning, qualified by experience, and qualified by dedication—to be President of the United States.

I utter an absolute truth and a very tragic truth when I say that he could not reach that high office because, as William S. White, the commentator, has so well said, he was born at the wrong time and in the wrong place to be chosen to that high office in the prevailing political climate.

Dick Russell recognized that the most important unit of society is the individual.

He recognized that the centralization of power in Washington is in the long run incompatible with the freedom of the individual and his highest development.

He recognized that James Madison spoke the truth when he said:

> That the concentration of all power in the hands of one man or one government, be it hereditary or elected, is the very name of tyranny.

Dick Russell was a great Senator. He was a great statesman. He was a great statesman because he was essentially a great man. He was unwilling, as I stated a moment ago, to sell the truth to serve the hour. Many who knew him but did not approve of his political philosophy, recognized that he was well qualified for the Presidency. They have expressed regret that he did not conform to the prevalent political climate of our day, and confessed that this deprived him of the office of the Presidency. Dick Russell as one other great southerner, Robert E. Lee, did, that defeat as well as victory must serve to shake the soul and let the glory out.

Richard Russell sought to preserve the federal system of Government.

He recognized the fact that Justice Brandeis was absolutely right when he said that the States are the only breakwater against the ever-pounding surf which threatens to submerge the individual and destroy the only society in which personality can exist.

That is the danger which confronts our country today.

I was much impressed by the statement of the President in his state of the Union Message the other night that we should return power to the States. That was what Dick Russell believed. Dick Russell was fighting for that because he recognized that there are some eternal truths in Government just as there are some eternal truths in religion. He realized, if I may repeat that the States are the only breakwater against the ever-pounding surf which threatens to submerge the individual and destroy the only society in which personality can exist.

I think this country will come to recognize in the days ahead that Dick Russell's insistence upon the maintenance of the federal system, that Dick Russell's insistence that the Constitution be obeyed and observed, and that Dick Russell's love for the individual and his fights against further centralization of power in the Federal Government in Washington are the things to which this Nation must return if this Nation is to endure as a free society and the individual is to have an opportunity to make of himself everything which God gave him the power of being.

I feel in the passing of Dick Russell an irreparable personal loss. He was a congenial companion. He had a wonderful sense of humor. We just heard a very fine statement made about him by the junior Senator from Illinois, Senator Adlai Stevenson.

I think Dick Russell's sense of humor was exhibited at the time his name was placed in nomination for the Presidency in 1952 at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, at the same time the name of Adlai Stevenson was placed in nomination. Adlai Stevenson was ultimately nominated.

Some historian had discovered that both Adlai Stevenson and Richard Russell were descendants of Richard Brevard, of Mecklenburg County, N.C. Some newspaperman asked him about this discovery. Richard Russell said:

> I am not denying my relationship to any Democrat at this particular time.

Dick Russell was a hard fighter, for causes he espoused, but he had a toleration for persons whose opinions did not coincide with his. I think that is a quality which we need much more of in our national life.

We shall not see Dick Russell's like again.

Hon. Fred R. Harris

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, America has lost a stalwart man. The Senate of the United States has lost one of its greatest Members. Senator Richard Russell is no longer among us.

Some have rightly said he was a "Senator's Senator." Presidents have validly called him a "President's Senator." In a larger sense he was no man's Senator, he was no man's man.

Senator Russell seemed to belong to the Senate and to love it because he did. The Senate was his life, and his life was the Senate's.

He was steadfast in his beliefs, strong in persuasion, wise in judgment, skillful in advocacy, honest in all his dealings, faithful in his dedication.

He was generous and helpful. I had the privilege of dining with him alone in his family home in Winder, and visiting with him from time to time at breakfast in the Senate dining room and at lunch in the Senator's private dining room, occasions which sadly became much less frequent in the last months.

He was always willing to give advice—and his advice was good. Younger men sought him out, and they were never sorry.

Senator Russell served as a member of the Senate committee which chose Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Taft, and LaFollette as the five former Senators whose portraits should be displayed in the Senate reception room. He knew greatness in Senators because he had such a full measure of it in himself. Mr. President, Senator Russell was great, and greatly will he be missed.

Hon. Joseph M. Montoya
OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, I had the privilege of serving with Richard Russell of Georgia in this body for six fruitful legislative years. Even in a body with more than a normal complement of distinguished men, he was a giant among us. Yet in spite of his legislative accomplishments, it was more often the intangible influence he exercised that left its greatest mark on this Chamber.

A nation is only as strong as its institutions. An institution is viable in a democracy just so long as the majority of its people retain faith in it. No institution is more basic to this Nation than the Senate, and it was here that Richard Russell made his most significant contribution to this country.

He radiated integrity, veracity, and honor. His behavior across the years in this body was the very epitome of decency, courage, and patriotism. The examples he set inspired three generations of U.S. Senators, crossing party and regional lines. By such behavior he set a tone for the entire Senate. The way he made and kept promises became legend here, as I have ample reason to attest. No other man's word was truer than Richard Russell's. His oral word was better than most written contracts, as we all know. In his life, nothing came before his country—nothing. Patriotism was not a word for the Fourth of July to him. It was an ideal motivating all his actions here. We can all testify to the trust his country in turn reposed in him.

As a legislative tactician he had no peer. It meant much to have such a man supporting constructive legislation. Often his approval had such moral influence as to make the difference between success and failure for a measure. To find him on the other side of an issue was to learn much of the art of opposition with honesty and brilliance. Mr. President, this Chamber is an integral part of the American panorama. Periodically there have been giants in this Hall. At times like this such shadows gather as they must. These men have risen to historical challenges, touching the edge of greatness. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Stephen Douglas, Robert Taft, LaFollette, Borah, Hiram Johnson, Barkley, Davis, Fessénden, George, Glass, Byrd, Houston, Lamar, Norris, Vance. In the future, anyone naming great Senators will have to add the name of Richard B. Russell to the front rank.

Above all he was a strong voice of his State's people in this Chamber. Richard Russell's door was always open to all Georgians.

No nation produces enough truly great men. Ours is no exception to that statement. In crises past, President after President immediately sought his advice and counsel. Always it was offered. Always it was judicious. Always our country benefited.

We shall all miss him sorely. His State and our entire Nation mourn him sincerely and deeply. It is fitting in closing to say that we shall not see his like again.

Hon. Claiborne Pell
OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, the death of Senator Russell is a loss to all of us. He was a man of great knowledge, knowledge not only of the rules and customs of the Senate and its history, but of our Nation as well.

I particularly remember him from his custom of eating lunch rather late every day, as I do, and I shall always remember the conversations on such a variety of subjects that he would have with those of us who were around the table. The history and lore of our country were of particular interest and no matter how vigorous the debate had been on the floor above, Senator Russell and the colleagues with him could always find themselves in a discussion on less controversial subjects concerning our history.

If ever a man combined the qualities of a gentleman and a scholar it was Dick Russell; and to

those qualities were added those of leadership and of a first-class intellect.

This Senator's Senator and leader of our body will be much missed by our Nation and by each of us. I know I shall miss him very much.

Hon. Clifford P. Hansen
OF WYOMING

Mr. President, few of us have the ability to describe the dimensions of Richard Russell's long and great service to this Nation, and to each American. I certainly do not have that ability. From his powerful position in the Senate for several decades, the wisdom of Richard Russell has been a guiding influence for the United States.

We honor him for his great patriotism, and for the dedication to his belief in the continuing validity of work and responsibility on the part of the individual.

His skill as a parliamentarian was second to none, his integrity was never in question, and all who had the honor to know him are familiar with the regard he had for the inviolability of his word.

All of us have reason to be grateful for Senator Russell's consideration and thoughtfulness for new Members of the Senate despite the time-consuming nature of his position of significant power and great influence. He was never too busy to discuss a problem or to be courteous and thoughtful in response to questions. Dick Russell set a standard to which all of us, and all Americans, can aspire.

As his presence here enriched all Americans, so does his absence leave us poorer. But his record and actions, his dedication and devotion to duty is a legacy which will continue to strengthen and inspire all Americans who love their country and want to serve it.

Hon. John O. Pastore
OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, sullen skies of last Sunday kept the colleagues of U.S. Senator Richard Russell from being present in person to pay their last respects to this great American—near to his Georgian home that was ever dear to his heart.

It seemed as though the heavens—the great air lanes to which this aviation minded Senator was so devoted—were, too, in mourning at the loss of a good friend.

So—fogbound—hundreds of miles away—our sentiments and our sorrow still reached to the resting place of this noble soul and humble citizen—so humble that his own eulogy would be simply—"Richard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Georgia."

Thus—briefly—he inscribed himself in the official directory of the Congress.

What time shall say of this statesman—this gentleman—this colleague—this friend who quietly slipped away from us on the very day of this Congress' beginning—what history shall say of him will cover many golden pages on these 38 most critical years of our America.

Three years plus 1 week ago this very day, on the floor of this Senate, we surprised our Georgian colleague with spontaneous tributes to the 35 years of his service.

His response was that the greatest compensation that flows from service in the Senate of the United States was his privilege of associating with his colleagues from every State of the Nation.

Today those colleagues reciprocate with heartfelt appreciation of this noble Georgian—exemplary American—worthy of the highest office in the gift of our people.

This is the sincere judgment of Americans who have been Presidents themselves.

I would like to repeat my judgment of 3 years ago when I said:

> I have never met a man who is more gentle or kinder in demeanor—yet so strong and firm in conviction, character and conscience.

It has been a priceless inspiration to have served with a man of so much attainments—yet so human—so humble.

A Rhode Island biographer recalls Richard Russell as a fourth grade student writing in his composition book these simple lines:

> I cannot do much, said the little star
> To make the dark world bright.
> My silver beams cannot pierce far
> Into the gloom of night.
> Yet—I am part of God's plan
> And I will do the best I can.

Some 60 years later—that boyhood effort could well be the epitaph of our dear friend—and I am

sure that God is pleased by "the best" that Dick Russell achieved for eternity.

May his soul rest in peace.

Hon. Len B. Jordan
OF IDAHO

Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing my deep sorrow in the passing of our esteemed colleague, Richard B. Russell.

When historians evaluate the contribution that Senator Russell has made, I am sure he will rank as one of the all-time great Senators of the United States. Dick Russell spent more than half his life in the Senate. He came to the Senate after serving his State as Governor. Before that he had served in the Georgia State Legislature.

His whole working lifetime was dedicated to public service. During that service he rose to positions of great power—yet he exercised that power with a gentle hand. An expert in matters of defense, he had seen the military experts—the generals and the admirals—come and go. Because of his vast experience and his absolute dedication to duty, there is no doubt in my mind that he knew more than any living man about the defense posture of our country. He served our country well in the finest traditions of public service.

We shall miss him. I feel that I am a better Senator for having known him and worked with him.

Hon. Jennings Randolph
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, Senator Richard Brevard Russell is gone from this Chamber in a physical sense. His words and wisdom cannot now provide us with the counsel he gave in such full measure over a long period of constructive leadership in the Senate.

I do not feel that it is inappropriate to state that when I came to the 73d Congress at age 30 on March 4, 1933, Senator Russell, at age 35, had been a Member of the Senate for approximately 7 weeks. Richard B. Russell came to the Senate in the 72d Congress, on January 12, 1933, to serve the unexpired term of William J. Harris, of Georgia, who had died on April 18, 1932. Richard B. Russell was serving the people of Georgia in a truly magnificent manner as the Governor of that State at the time of the death of Senator Harris. He appointed John S. Cohen as of April 25, 1932, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator Harris. In the November 1932 election, the people of Georgia elected Richard B. Russell to succeed Senator Cohen for the remainder of the term of Senator Harris. At the completion of his second year as Governor, Richard Russell came to the Senate, as I have indicated, on January 12, 1933, and was seated as a Member of the 72d Congress on that date.

On March 4, 1933, when I became a Member of the House of Representatives, I had a very wonderful fellow townsman of Elkins, W. Va., Herman Guy Kump, who became the Governor of the State of West Virginia, and on the same date, his boyhood friend, Harry Byrd of Virginia, was appointed to the U.S. Senate from the Commonwealth of Virginia to succeed Claude Swanson, who had resigned from this body to become Secretary of the Navy in the first Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Those of us throughout the country who were beginning public service at that time remember the deep depression—many have called it the Great Depression, which was to cause, as it did, monumental problems for the people of the United States and for our economy generally. Today I recall especially the impact of that depression on the State of West Virginia and its people.

The West Virginia situation had been further complicated, from a fiscal standpoint, for our people and our legislature and the new Governor, my fellow townsman.

The voters had ratified a property tax limitation amendment to the State's constitution at the general election in the fall of 1932. So, there was a combination of circumstances—the depression and the tax limitation amendment—that necessitated a complete revamping of West Virginia government at the State and the local levels. And the base of taxation had to be shifted from a principal reliance on levies on real estate to a new reliance on indirect taxes.

There were two men in public life to whom the then Governor of West Virginia, my fellow townsman, turned: Senator Richard B. Russell and Senator Harry Flood Byrd.

He held continuing conferences with those men. It was my privilege to assume from my new

Washington office major responsibility for activating these consultations between the then Governor of West Virginia and the two former Governors of Georgia and Virginia, Senator Russell and Senator Byrd, father of our colleague, the present senior Senator from Virginia.

So in the late winter and the spring of 1933, those consultations of Governor Kump and Senators Russell and Byrd were held. The new Governor of West Virginia sought competent advice of those former Governors in whom he had confidence. Our Governor considered them intellectually brilliant and men of experience, even though Senator Russell was only 35 years old at that time. Indeed, general confidence in Senator Russell, even then, in the early days of his service in this body, is indicated by the fact that Senator Harry Flood Byrd was the one who urged upon our Governor that Senator Richard B. Russell join in the conferences to find solutions for West Virginia's unusually critical problems. The advice of our former colleague was a major input to the solution finding that, in my judgment, brought West Virginia from near governmental bankruptcy to fiscal solvency and made the administration of Governor Kump one of the most respected in the State's history.

So this afternoon I repeat that Senator Russell is gone from this Chamber physically. His words and wisdom cannot now provide us with the counsel he gave in such full measure during his lengthy period of truly dedicated and outstanding service in the U.S. Senate, but his profoundness will always be remembered by those of us privileged to serve with him. Yes, Senator Russell demonstrated extraordinary capacity, intellectual and otherwise. He possessed a special gift for legislative and executive understanding as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, as the speaker of that body, and as Governor of Georgia. In the Senate of the United States his special type of leadership, his truly remarkable insight, and his courage were exemplified in full measure. The long years of public service of Senator Dick Russell yielded much that will be of lasting benefit to our country, even though in some areas of American life his positions on public matters were controversial.

My wife recalled to me this weekend that on the first occasion when we visited the White House in 1933, Senator Richard Russell was there, and it was her good fortune, as she reminded me, to talk with him. She recalled also, as of yesterday, her feelings on that night when we returned to our residence. She expressed not only her delight in the conversations with the Senator from Georgia, but her feeling that here was a man of great leadership, a man of great understanding, a man of great talent. Mrs. Randolph, as well as millions and millions of Americans, not only watched the career of Senator Russell and approved of his high-quality service during that career but also realized the debt that the Nation owed this statesman for the work so nobly begun and so spendidly carried forward during his lifetime.

I recall that, as a delegate-at-large from the State of West Virginia to the Democratic National Convention, I gave to Senator Russell my vote when he was an active contestant in the national convention for the Presidency of the United States. I did so at that time in 1952 with the realization that, although he might not be nominated and probably would never become the President of this Republic, he had the characteristics which I felt were necessary to lead this Nation in time of crisis, in time of peace, and in time of conflict.

It is easy sometimes to say that a man is a great man or that a man is a good man or that a man is a gallant man. But as I think of Senator Russell, to me he was a patriot, not necessarily a patriot who stood always beside the flag and wanted to unfurl it, although he was proud of the symbol of this Republic. He always made clear to the Nation by spoken or written word where he stood on the issues. His intellect and his forthrightness made him a towering figure in American public life.

Mine was a close and cherished friendship with Senator Russell for a period of 38 years. I am genuinely saddened by his leaving this body and leaving his work, which he loved so well. In a sense, his colleagues in the Senate were part of his family. In a sense, that was true, because he looked upon each of us, even though we had varying viewpoints on subject matter, as one member would look upon another member in a family—in this instance, the family of the Senate of the United States.

Four decades is a long time; yet, it is a relatively short time. But it was during that extended

period that Senator Russell had the opportunity, and embraced it, for an extraordinary type of service to this Republic and its people. He was not just a political leader. I would not stop at that point, as others would not stop, in assessing his contributions to public service. He was, yes, a good man, a gallant man, a great man. He was a patriotic American. He was a towering Member of the Senate because he looked always to what he believed to be best for the public good and the welfare of his beloved State and country. Those of us who knew him and were privileged to serve with him will, I truly believe, always sense the influence of his presence whether he is physically present or not in these Halls. His will be a lasting imprint on this institution—the Senate of the United States.

Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff
OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, I mourn the death of a friend, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia.

His death Thursday, January 21, 1971, leaves a void in the Senate that will not easily—or perhaps ever—be filled. Senator Russell has left an indelible imprint upon the Senate and the Nation.

I have known very few truly great men in my lifetime, and Senator Russell was one of them.

Many have said that had he come from another section of the Nation—had he not been a southerner—Senator Russell would have been elected President. There is some truth in that.

But there is more truth in the assertion that Senator Russell would have lived his life in no other way and in no other place. For this great American was a southerner, he was a Georgian, and to imagine him, or to speculate about him, as anything else, or as being from anywhere else, is to misunderstand him and miss the lesson of his life.

Several years ago, on a trip to Georgia, I had the privilege of visiting Senator Russell at his family home in Winder. I was struck by the simplicity of his home and the simple, gentle manner in which he lived. Richard Russell, the most powerful man in the Senate, lived totally without pretense, without any of the trappings of power.

Counselor to Presidents and other Americans of high position and trust. Senator Russell was respected and admired by all Senators, irrespective of political party and philosophy.

As President pro tempore of the Senate, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee and as the ranking member and former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Russell held immense power within the Congress. But he exercised that power thoughtfully, responsibly, and with uncommon discipline.

He took seriously his many responsibilities and strove diligently and tirelessly to carry them out. I have never known any Senator—or any other public servant—who came to his work with such thorough preparation as did Senator Russell.

He was blessed with a brilliant mind but he nourished that gifted intellect with constant reading, study, and attention to both policy and detail.

History will record Richard Russell of Georgia as one of the greatest Senators who ever served in this body. In his 38 years in the Senate, he fulfilled his duties with skill, dignity, and grace. He, more than anyone else, reflected the essence of what the Senate is. By his presence he reminded us of what it means to be a Senator. We will all miss him very much.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, Richard Brevard Russell was once advised by his father to "marry your work if you are going into a public career." That he took this advice to heart has been of incalculable benefit to the State of Georgia and the Senate of the United States. He spent more than half his life in the Senate, having begun his service in 1933 at the age of 35.

His political career began at the tender age of 23 upon his election to the Georgia House of Representatives, in which he served for 10 years. At the age of 29 he was elected Speaker of the Georgia House and at 33 became the youngest Governor in Georgia's history. His term as Governor is remembered for the streamlining he imposed upon the executive branch, reducing the number of departments and agencies from 102 to 18.

He was elected to fill a vacancy in the Senate and took the oath of office on January 12, 1933.

By 1944 he had assumed the mantle of leader of the so-called Southern bloc of Senators, a position he has maintained since that time. As leader of the Southern forces he was hailed as a brilliant tactician and an adamant adversary, but also a courtly and gracious gentleman. He himself best explained the nature of his being when he said:

> My father used to tell his seven sons that all of them could not be brilliant, all of them could not be successful, but all of them could be honorable. . . . I have tried to follow that course throughout my life.

No one could deny him this modest self-estimation.

A Senate colleague once analyzed the enormous influence Senator Russell exercised upon the Senate in these words:

> First of all, there's seniority. Second, he is a man with a brilliant mind who uses it tirelessly. Third, he is on the job all the time. In establishing power it is of the utmost importance to be here, to be in attendance, to be doing the work. Particularly in committee. Russell is a stickler for that. Then, he knows the rules.

His outstanding parliamentary skill was once attested to by our former colleague, the honorable Paul Douglas of Illinois, who yielded to him with these words:

> I yield, though my knees are knocking, to one of the subtlest men and one of the most able field generals who ever appeared on the floor of the Senate.

In 1948, and again in 1952, Senator Russell received a substantial number of votes for the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party. It has been said that he would have won that nomination had he not been a southerner. It has also been said that had he been elected to the Presidency he would have done it as much justice as any man who has held the office.

During his illustrious career in the Senate he served, since 1933, on the Committee on Appropriations, and, since 1947, on the Armed Services Committee. From 1951 through 1968 he was chairman of the Armed Services Committee. In 1969 he relinquished that post to assume the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, following the departure from the Senate of the distinguished Carl Hayden, of Arizona. In 1969 his colleagues accorded him the high privilege of election to the office of President pro tempore of the Senate.

As chairman of the Armed Services Committee he had a hand in virtually every important item of defense legislation enacted since 1951. Even in 1940 his influence on defense legislation was noticeable when he authored an amendment to the Selective Service Act of that year which permitted the Governor to draft industry for war production.

His fashioning of legislation was most often accomplished behind the scenes. A colleague once pointed out:

> No major compromise can be concluded in the Senate without submission to his professional hand. His role as compromiser was once pithily characterized as that of the man who says the blessing over the legislative wine.

He was always an advocate of a strong defense for the Nation, considering it an imperative need given the state of world affairs and our position as leader of the Western democracies. At the same time, he believed in cautious use of our power and was early opposed to our massive commitment of troops in Vietnam and our policy there of graduated response. He described this military engagement as "the nearest thing to a total national frustration this country has ever encountered," and warned that we should either fight to win or leave.

Senator Russell was always a leading supporter of legislation to aid the American farmer. He played an important role in establishing Government programs to conserve the soil and our forestry resources. He supported programs to develop water resources. Rural electrification was of long interest to him. He was among those who launched our farm parity program and aided in drafting the original legislation in the 1930's.

He supported selectively certain Federal programs to aid education and schoolchildren and was particularly proud of his role in initiating the school lunch program.

He helped to write the first Atomic Energy Act and was a charter member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In 1938 he supported domestic air carrier service in the United States on the premise that the United States should have a corner on this vital form of transportation.

This towering figure was a leader of his party in the Senate. From 1947 he served on the Democratic policy committee and from 1957 on the Democratic steering committee, which makes committee assignments for Democrats in the Senate.

His devotion to duty and his impeccable manners earned him the sobriquet of a "Senator's Senator," the ultimate honor.

Senator Russell's philosophy of government was rooted in constitutionalism. His belief in the limits of Federal power was the main force behind his opposition to what are popularly known as civil rights acts. His attitude toward the role of government he summed up once by saying:

> I'm a reactionary when times are good. In a depression, I'm a liberal.

He was always regarded as one of the most fair and conscientious Members of this body. The truth of this was clearly demonstrated during the Senate inquiry of President Truman's dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur from his command in Korea. Senator Russell presided over those hearings from May 3 to June 27, 1951. During that time he was unfailingly courteous and was particularly solicitous of the General's views. In hindsight it has been claimed that his judicious handling of this volatile event did much to defuse an explosive situation.

Through it all for the past four decades he served his Nation well. He was the good and faithful servant of the people. He was good for the Senate and he loved it dearly. I can say without hesitation that he was a remarkable Senator, a remarkable man, who enjoyed the respect and affection of all those who served with him.

Mr. President, in the death of Senator Russell, I feel possibly the greatest personal loss I have experienced apart from the loss of close family members. He was the man I most admired in Washington—a man of great intellect, the finest of public servants.

His patriotism and love of country will never be excelled. From my first days in the U.S. Senate, he was my mentor, and I take pride in knowing that he came to be also my friend.

Mr. President, a great man, a statesman, a distinguished citizen of the Republic—has "reached the silent haven that all the dead have reached," and where the voyage of every life must end.

How poor this world would be without the memories of its mighty dead. Only the voiceless speak forever.

The memory of this noble and great man will ever be like a star, which is not extinguished when it sets upon the dull horizon; it but goes to shine in other skies, then reappears in ours, as fresh as when it first arose.

Hon. Charles H. Percy

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, I am very proud indeed to follow our newly elected Democratic whip whose very presence in that chair was made possible by a remarkable vote cast by Senator Russell and the following man who knew him so intimately and so well over so many years.

My own relationship and acquaintanceship with Senator Russell is a much shorter term, only 4 years, but I had always heard about him and looked forward very much indeed to meeting him. I was unprepared for the fact that rather than have me come over to meet Senator Russell, as I felt was appropriate on my opening day in the Senate, when friends of ours gave a reception for me, Senator Russell came in to meet me instead.

I thought that some of my colleagues who were about to move their offices might have come in just out of interest in looking over Senator Neuberger's office, which I was temporarily located in, just to size up the situation, and that they might want to move in. Senator Russell came simply to extend the hand of fellowship and to offer any assistance he could provide. I thought that was a wonderful gesture for this great man to make to a freshman Senator on his first day in the Senate.

Above all, he was a gentleman. But he was also a scholar. We all recognized the deep intellect and scholarship he possessed. Never did he take for granted his position in the Senate. Never did he address himself to an issue that he had not researched thoroughly. His understanding of the procedures, the rules, the customs, and the habits of the Senate were second to no man.

His understanding of the U.S. Government was very profound indeed. His work on the Appropriations Committee gave him a cross section of all Government operations. Senator Russell had an overseeing responsibility and also the responsibility to exercise at various levels a priority.

His knowledge was very great indeed. He was a man of deep convictions. He believed deeply

in certain principles of government. He believed deeply in some of the things he wanted to see done for this country. As a result of his birth, background, and experience, he had certain ideas which were in conflict with those of some of his colleagues, including myself, on some occasions. However, I know that he was always a man of honor. He always respected another person's point of view.

Having been raised in a family under a father who was born in Mobile, Ala., and lived there all his life until he moved North after marriage, I had a better opportunity and a better understanding through my father of some of the background for the thinking of Senator Russell on some matters such as civil rights.

Senator Russell was a man of utter fairness and deep conviction. He always respected another person's point of view. Certainly every courtesy was extended by him to freshmen and junior Senators throughout his time of service in the U.S. Senate.

We have suffered a great loss. Many times a man in this life contributes so much to making this a better world in which all of us can live and work. Many times the living memorial and legacy that a man leaves are the qualities and the characteristics that all of those who have been privileged to know him admire and respect.

Perhaps the best tribute we can pay to him is to attempt in every way to live up to the principles in which he believed, the principles of fairness, equity, and justice, as he saw them, and certainly the principle of scholarship in our senatorial work.

Above all, a Senator is a gentleman. Senator Russell was a gentleman among gentlemen.

Hon. Robert P. Griffin

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, it is with a sense of deep loss that I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a gallant American who was recognized in life, as he will be recognized in history—as one of the Nation's foremost leaders.

One must delve deep in the storehouse of words to find means to express even inadequately the debt we all owe to Richard Brevard Russell.

As all of his colleagues here in the Senate know so well no man ever served his State, the Senate and the Nation with more devotion, fidelity, and dignity. Within him there was a majesty of purpose and principle which gave a shining lustre to his long years of service in the Senate.

What was once said of another great American, Theodore Roosevelt, can also be said most appropriately of Dick Russell:

> He was a great patriot, a great man; above all, a great American. His country was the ruling, mastering passion of his life from the beginning even unto the end.

As a rather junior Senator, I count it a high privilege to have had the opportunity to have served as a colleague of this great American. His exceptional ability, great intellect, and strong convictions earned for him an honored place among such titans of the Senate as Daniel Webster, John Calhoun, Robert LaFollette, and Robert A. Taft. In his quiet and characteristically unassuming way, he was most helpful to me on numerous occasions, as I am sure he was to many others.

But what I am most grateful for is the example he set for all of us by his service to the Senate and the Nation. He was a man who had the courage to walk alone, if need be, on a course he thought was right, exercising what the poet Burns called "the glorious privilege of being independent." But the man we honor here today seldom had to walk alone, so great was the force of his personality, his persuasion and the logic of the positions he took. He once said:

> Any man who dares to vote independently is a leader and any man who can persuade three or four men to vote with him is a power.

In this respect, as many a debate on this floor has proved, Dick Russell was a leader many times over.

None has deserved more the description as "a Senator's Senator." Just as appropriately, he has been referred to as "Mr. Senate." He exemplified the Senate's finest traditions. He was, as he considered the Senate to be, a citadel of the Nation's strength and freedom—a continuing link in the Nation's history—linking the past with the present; linking the present with the future.

For him it was no idle belief that, as he once said that—

If it had not been for the Senate, there would be an all-powerful central Government in this country.

As is well known, he was an eloquent advocate of States' rights throughout his many years of Senate service. The fact that we are now talking about a new federalism—that we talk about strengthening—not weakening—the role of States in our system of government—stands as another tribute to Dick Russell's leadership.

As he was a Senator's Senator, he also was a President's Senator. His service in the Senate starting in January 1933 spanned the administrations of six Presidents. Each of them, regardless of party, sought his counsel, particularly on matters relating to national defense.

Henry Adams once wrote that "a friend in power is a friend lost"—but with Dick Russell this was never so. His integrity was such that whatever differences he may have had with occupants of the White House, he never lost their friendship. As a realist, he understood that modern politics is a struggle, not so much of men, as of forces—and this enabled him to judge events and their impact with rare objectivity and detachment. And this, no doubt, was why his advice was so frequently sought.

Perhaps history will record his support for strong U.S. military forces in a world of rapid—and often violent—change as his outstanding achievement. While he desired peace as earnestly as any man, he knew that in the turbulence of this age, peace—and freedom—could be maintained only through strength.

Even early in his Senate career he had the foresight to see the shadow of World War II descending over Europe, and he supported the ending of the arms embargo, the selective service and lend-lease.

For different reasons he opposed American involvement in Southeast Asia, for he foresaw that this could lead to what has become the longest, costliest and most unpopular war in the Nation's history. One can only surmise what the course of history would have been during the last 15 years if his advice had been followed.

Senator Russell left for us an unfading example of public service in the Senate's highest traditions. We will miss him sorely.

With his death we have come to the end of an era in the Senate—and we cannot hope to be fortunate enough to see his like again.

Hon. Allen J. Ellender

OF LOUISIANA

Mr. President, no one who possesses a sense of history can contemplate the lifespan and record of the late Senator Russell without a feeling of humility. His life and public service spanned two world wars, the great depression, and the tremendous changes which these events brought to our Nation and the world.

There is no need to dwell on the public record he compiled during his 50 years of public service to the State of Georgia, his beloved country, and the U.S. Senate to which he was so devoted and gave so much. Those facts are well known, and will no doubt be stated by others who will pay him tribute.

Monuments are built to those who have passed away, but in many respects Senator Russell was a monument in his own time. Those who are aware of and appreciate the forces of historical change must also recognize the importance of those things which are unchanging—those sea anchors, as they are sometimes called—which allow us to maintain a heading against the winds of this moment and the next.

Those individuals in public life and those beliefs and institutions which are monumental in character have always served a special purpose and filled a special place in the development of these United States. They have provided our society with its "sea anchors," Senator Russell was unique in this respect. At the beginning of an era of unprecedented and perhaps unmeasurable change, he was destined to combine the attributes of the individual in public life with a system of deeply held beliefs at the highest institutional level in the political life of our Nation. This made of him a monumental figure in his own right. He held a position which was relatively constant while many of those about him were jostling each year for new cornerstones on which to build.

I have known Senator Russell, and worked closely with him, longer than any man now serving as a Member of the U.S. Senate—34 years to be exact. I knew him well, and I knew him as a man of the people. When I say that he was monumental in character and in the place he held in our Government, I do not speak lightly. From his vantage point in the U.S. Senate, he worked to

draft and push to passage the measures designed to bring our Nation up from the depths of the great depression, and which were destined to radically alter the character of American life. He came to the Senate as a young man, as we all know, and absorbed knowledge from those about him at the highest levels of our Government. He shaped it by his own beliefs and experiences and used it to become one of the legislative giants of our time, and to assist and guide his colleagues following his footsteps in the Senate. I can recall much of his wisdom and advice given to me over the years as, I am sure, can many others here.

Senator Russell used his natural abilities to shape and protect the institution he was to call his home, second only to his native State, for almost 40 years. The Senate gave him knowledge and almost unprecedented experience, and he repaid that debt by breathing into our Upper House that life and vitality that any institution must possess if it is to survive in a fluctuating world.

At the same time, he was confident that there are substantial principles that do not change, and which must act to sustain this Republic, this society, during moments of historical conflict. Our Constitution formed such a cornerstone for him, as did the time-honored and hard-won rules of parliamentary procedure. Winston Churchill has pointed out that the rules of proper procedure, the principles by which public decisions are to be made, represent one of the greatest gifts that the English-speaking people have given to all mankind. Without doubt, Senator Russell agreed with that premise. In him Churchill found a willing and great disciple on this side of the Atlantic, acting as a constitutional bastion in the U.S. Senate. In many respects the Senator from Georgia represented and embodied those most serious concerns of the Founding Fathers meeting in Philadelphia 183 years ago—a concern that the Senate be so constructed as to resist the pressure of public hysteria, that it should provide an element of stability against the passions of the moment, and that it should reflect American life while at the same time helping to shape its quality in the truest and most profound sense.

Certainly this was a personal goal of the man whom I now call a monument in his own time. Nothing that might be erected here on earth can adequately reflect this enduring quality of the man, just as no mere building—preserved in Philadelphia or constructed of marble in Washington—can provide a true picture of the American genius that slowly unfolded during those summer months of 1787.

This society of ours is now beset by change on every hand, if we are to believe the public press and the words of a host of social commentators. Yet nothing that we see about us, nothing, actually, that we may imagine for the immediate future, can be realistically compared to the alterations—some slowly, some more quickly—that have come about in our society during Senator Russell's tenure. It is not my intention here to engage on a social commentary of my own. Yet I believe that we must not forget, particularly on this occasion, that only because of men such as Georgia's late senior Senator can we judge the tenor of present events and attempt to see things in their proper perspective.

There is much violence about us today, in many different forms. Yet when Senator Russell first took office, many families in these United States were mounting machineguns under the eaves of their homes, and fortifying the boundaries of their property. Now there is violence for you, Mr. President, and there is social crisis of a very real and important sort. A study of the life of a man such as Richard Russell can provide us with a measure of how far we have come, and some indication of where we are at the present moment of history. A monument should have a strong foundation, and cast a long shadow. In the roots and experiences of Senator Russell's life, we may find written the story of a troubled and tumultuous period in the history of the greatest nation on earth. We should also find, it seems to me, the guidelines which will carry us safely through the future.

For Senator Russell, my friend, colleague, and confidant over so many years, was quick to recognize that constant and consistent principles did not require an unbending and unyielding opposition to the forces that were acting to change the structure of our society, even in ways that he did not entirely approve of. Senators know that area of which I am speaking. He and I fought many long battles in the Senate over the subject of civil rights legislation, and we fought them together.

Yet ponder upon this, as a measure of the social changes that have taken place, and as a measure of the man to whom we now give monumental qualities.

Senator Russell was an active participant in the first of the great civil rights debates in this century, in 1938. That was 33 years ago. We were successful, but other battles, hard-fought and intense, were to bring a reversal of our fortunes. The tide changed. Our principles were no longer subscribed to by the majority, yet they remained of great importance to us of the South, and the Constitution remained the cornerstone of our public philosophy. In spite of this, in spite of bitter defeat at the end of the longest debate in the Senate's history, the Senator from Georgia was one of those from the South to tell his people that the law would be enacted, and that it must be obeyed as long as it remained on the books. This, too, must be taken into account in any measure of the man. It was important to him, and it is important in the development of our society. It should not be forgotten, as I am sure it will not be.

Future generations will look back, through their history books, in the recordings of the age, and perhaps tour the monuments that have been constructed by the hands of man moving sand and marble from one place to another. They shall seek to gain an understanding of what it was that happened over these four decades in the middle of the 20th century, here in these United States. They will study the documents and attempt to trace the flow of events from the 1930's into the 1950's and 1960's. The final chapters cannot be written, and hopefully they never will be. Even now we do not fully understand exactly what has taken place, or what history will write of the 1970's.

Yet those seeking to understand the last 40 years would do well not to confine themselves to the documents and evidence they will have at hand. There are limits to the insights that any monument can provide. A rich source for understanding of the past and guidance for the future will be the life of Senator Richard B. Russell, a Senator from Winder, Ga. In what I have chosen to term his "living monument," will be found an index and guide to understanding of the last 40 years, and of the changes they have brought.

Hon. Margaret Chase Smith

OF MAINE

Mr. President, the death of Richard Brevard Russell marks an end to an era when the U.S. Senate achieved its greatest stature and prestige as an institution. It marks the end of an era when the Senate enjoyed great public confidence because its membership was dedicated to it as an institution and as a career and not just a stepping-stone or springboard. It marks the end of an era when practically the entire membership of the U.S. Senate put the work of the Senate ahead of all other endeavors. It marks the end of an era when practically no one in the Senate made the work of the Senate secondary to such outside activities as high-fee lectures and speeches. It marks the end to an era when the Senate was not regarded as a sort of "moonlighting" job.

The decorum, the sense of dedication to the Senate as an institution, the stature, and the prestige of the Senate began to erode as the health of Richard Brevard Russell began to erode. As his failing health caused his absence from the Senate floor with increasing frequency and for longer periods, the effect on the Senate became evident. The deterioration of the Senate from an orderly and dignified parliamentary body into too often the state of an anarchistic legislative jungle is directly traceable to the absence of the calm, deliberative, and wise leadership of Richard Brevard Russell, both on and off the Senate floor.

I pray to God that somehow the U.S. Senate will return to the quality that Richard Brevard Russell gave it in his fully active and healthful years.

It was my privilege to express my great respect for Richard Brevard Russell in the Senate on April 1, 1969. I wish to reaffirm now what I said when he was alive and I ask unanimous consent that my statement of April 1, 1969, be printed at this time.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR SMITH

Mr. President, one of the great privileges of serving in the United States Senate—the greatest legislative body in the history of the world—has been to associate with truly

great leaders—statesmen whose deeds and wisdom and courage have deeply inspired so many.

I am deeply fortunate to be serving in my twenty-first year in the Senate—and my seventeenth year on both the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee for which I feel doubly fortunate because of my association during these years with the man who now chairs the Appropriations Committee after chairing the Armed Services Committee so brilliantly and wisely for many years.

Yes, the Senate has several great leaders in its history. But I think that to most of us there are only three or four or maybe five who stand out above all others—who are truly the giants of integrity, wisdom, achievement and dedication—during our respective tenures in the Senate—the giants who really inspire their colleagues.

One way that an outsider can identify a giant in the Senate from a viewpoint in the Senate Gallery is to watch the Senate Floor to see the turnout of Senators to listen to a giant speak and the hushed silence when a giant speaks. An extremely reliable measurement within the Senate itself is whether the individual Senator can really sway votes when he rises to speak and voice his respected, often revered, views.

To me, Richard Brevard Russell, the Senior Senator from Georgia, the Senior Senator of the Senate, and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate has been, and is, one of the rare few giants of the Senate during my tenure. I know that many, many Senators share my view.

I agree with those who say that Richard Brevard Russell should have been President of the United States. I wish he had—not only because he has been one of the most eminently qualified to be President—not only because he so richly deserved to be President—but even more important because our nation would be a better nation had he been President.

But in a selfish manner as far as the Senate is concerned—and in a less selfish manner as far as the people of America are concerned—there has been a very meaningful advantage in his not becoming President.

For had he been elected President in 1948 or 1952, our nation would have been without his leadership since 1956 or 1960 when he might have retired after eight years as President. Thus, the people of America would have been deprived of his leadership in the Senate for the past eight or twelve years—and we of the Senate would have been deprived of his sage advice, counsel and leadership. An unfillable void in the Senate would have been created.

Richard Brevard Russell has beeen an inspiration to me in many ways. He has been a shining example to follow. I now reveal a secret with respect to one very specific way in which I have tried to emulate him. Despite his brilliant record of innumerable achievements his biographical sketch in the Congressional Directory year after year after year by his own choice has simply read "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga." Such is the modesty of this tremendous giant of the Senate.

Dick Russell has a quality of human kindness and warm gentleness that is not known as much as it should be. He is, indeed, a gentleman in the fullest sense of the word.

He has so many attributes of greatness that I hesitate to single out any two or three of them to the exclusion of the many others—integrity, intellect, wisdom, patience, forbearance, courage and many more.

When he was honored recently as the recipient of the James Forrestal Memorial Award, in accepting the award, he displayed many of these attributes, but none of them any more than his great attribute of courage to speak up and to speak out.

He said what has been in desperate need of being said in my opinion—he spoke the heart and the mind of the majority of a deeply troubled America. He made a Declaration of Conviction that needs to be repeated again and again and again.

May the good people of Georgia in their great wisdom continue to give Richard Brevard Russell to the people of America and send him to the United States Senate for as long as he is willing to serve in the United States Senate.

Hon. Hugh Scott

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, with the passing of Dick Russell we all lost a friend, a truly fine associate, and a dedicated public servant.

For more than 50 years our distinguished late colleague enthusiastically was in the service of his constitutents and loved the life he chose.

The Nation, the State of Georgia, and the Senate of the United States is the loser. We are truly pleased, though, that we had Senator Dick Russell for as long as we did, because he contributed so much.

There have been many giants in the Senate of the United States, but Dick Russell was a giant among giants. His dedication to his country, to his State, to his party, and to the Senate knew no bounds.

There has never been, nor do I believe there will ever be, a finer parliamentarian in the Senate of the United States than the late senior Senator from Georgia. His knowledge of the rules of the Senate was more complete than even professional parliamentarians.

With the passing of Dick Russell, I have truly lost a dear and trusted colleague and friend, one whom I deeply respected and one whose counsel I sought on numerous occasions.

We shall all miss him as a colleague. We shall feel his loss deeply. But, the country will feel his loss even more.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 24, 1971, be printed.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 24, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL OF GEORGIA

It was said of Richard Brevard Russell—by Harry S. Truman some years ago by Mike Mansfield the other day—that if he had come from another section of the country he would have become President, and perhaps he would. For the Georgia Democrat was a man of remarkable qualities. He had a keen mind—one of the finest in the U.S. Senate, in which he served since 1933. He was an orator of no mean abilities, and he understood politics and power, and he had the stuff of whatever it is that political leadership is made of.

Russell's fatal flaw was not so much that he came from the South but that he was a prisoner of his section, and he could not or would not, break loose. He was on the wrong side of one of the great issues of the times—civil rights. Like other Southerners (but not only Southerners) he waged a delaying action for a lost cause, and he knew it was delaying and he knew it was lost, but he would do no other.

Yet, fighting as he did—tenaciously, bitterly, skillfully—he kept the respect of the most tenacious and bitter and skillful of his opponents, and in other ways he served his country with distinction.

Notwithstanding his well-publicized differences with President Truman, he presided over the MacArthur hearings with consummate fairness. The Senate Armed Services Committee judgment—that, in effect, the President had not only acted responsibly in firing the flamboyant commander but that he could not have acted otherwise—did much to defuse an explosive issue in a heated time.

If one can wish that his posture on civil rights had been different, and reflect that the country might have been saved much grief if it had, one can also wish that his advice on Vietnam had been taken as far back as 1954, when he took a very dim view of our involvement there and a far-sighted view of the consequences.

Hon. James O. Eastland

OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, we are gathered here today to pay tribute to Richard B. Russell of Georgia, one of the truly great men of our Nation's history. It is one of those memorable occasions when the Senate is truly of one mind and heart, bound together by mutual love, affection, and admiration for a truly distinguished colleague, humbled by the magnitude of this loss to the Senate and the Nation. As we gather here, Richard Russell's place in the history of the Senate and the Nation is secure. His life and deeds will be chronicled by historians for years to come.

Born into one of Georgia's oldest and most distinguished families, Richard Russell was the son of a noted justice of the State Supreme Court. At age 35 Richard Russell had already accomplished more than most men could dream of in a lifetime. As a freshman Senator, he had already served as Speaker of the House of Representatives and Governor of the State of Georgia, yet his service to the Nation had only begun. He was a Senator's Senator, a statesman of the first rank.

Richard Russell was the trusted and valued adviser to perhaps more Presidents of the United States than any other man in the history of his Nation. His wise counsel was sought and adhered to by the leaders of this country in peace and war. In the times of great trial, his voice was heard in the highest counsels of the land and the influence of his guiding hand will leave an indelible imprint upon this Nation for countless generations to come. He did not seek power or acclaim, but commanded it by the sheer power of his character, his intellect, and integrity. He was a devoted servant of a nation he loved, yet he was always faithful to the ideas, ideals, and aspirations of his native Southland. It was an honor to serve with him.

Hon. Vance Hartke

OF INDIANA

Mr. President, in any group of men and women, no matter how distinguished the general level of ability, some few will stand out above the rest, and of those few, one will seem preeminent. Among his peers, he will be considered peerless.

That, surely, was the case with the man we mourn and eulogize today, the late President pro tempore of the Senate, Richard Brevard Russell. He was not simply the dean of the Senate, the senior Member in point of service. He was the giant of this senatorial era. Indeed, one would have to go back decades in the history of this body to find a man who achieved the same degree of moral and intellectual ascendancy among his colleagues as did Richard Russell. Even those who found themselves more often than not at policy odds with him had no difficulty recognizing or conceding that here, truly, was the dominant figure among us.

Just about a year ago I attended a formal dinner with one of our senior and most distin-

guished colleagues. As we waited for the inevitable round of speeches to begin, I asked this Senator—who is not, let me add, a southerner—whom he regarded as the three or four most able and impressive Senators he had known in his own service here.

His response came at once. He said:

> There is only one, Richard Russell. There is nobody else in his class; he stands alone.

And then our colleague added after a moment's thought:

> Dick Russell is the greatest man I have ever known in public life, beyond comparison.

Mr. President, I believe that judgment is widely shared in this body today. It is a suitable epitaph to a very great American.

Hon. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, the death of Senator Richard B. Russell last week was a great loss to the Senate and to the Nation.

It was a severe personal loss to the senior Senator from Virginia.

Senator Russell came to the U.S. Senate January 12, 1933. A few weeks later my father was appointed to the Senate, and the two of them served together for 32 years.

They were close and devoted friends, and I am proud that that close friendship between Senator Russell and my father likewise existed between Senator Russell and me.

Richard Russell of Georgia served in the Senate of the United States longer than any man in history, with the exception of Carl Hayden of Arizona.

The Senator from Georgia was a man of great vision and remarkable foresight.

In my judgment, he would have made an outstanding President of the United States, and the Virginia delegation to the Democratic National Convention supported him for this position in 1952.

Actually, over a long period of time as U.S. Senator, he wielded almost as much power and influence as did a President. Presidents relied on his judgment—just as did his colleagues in the Senate.

It is a mark of his greatness that he did not abuse the power entrusted to him.

His colleagues knew him—and Presidents knew him—as a man of complete integrity and one wholly dedicated to serving his Nation and his State.

The name of Richard Brevard Russell will be written large in the history of America.

He was a great Senator, a great patriot, a great American—and to me, a beloved friend.

Hon. Howard W. Cannon
OF NEVADA

Mr. President, we can add little today to embellish the monumental record of public service which our late and respected colleague Richard Russell made during his lifetime here in the U.S. Senate.

Each of us who were privileged to serve with him during a part of his long service to our Nation recall his tireless devotion to the national good, his strict code of personal conduct, and his deep and abiding love for the Senate and its historic traditions.

Dick Russell played a leading role in one of the greatest chapters of American history—a period which covered World War II, the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts, economic depressions, fabulous growth and unparalleled national advancement in every field.

When I was a junior member of the Senate Armed Services Committee I had on countless occasions received his assistance and advice in learning the operations of the Congress. I found him a man who commanded respect; whose devotion to this country was exceeded only by his devotion to the cause of freedom.

We who knew him personally and closely will always remember him for his sincerity, his unselfishness, his wise counsel, his able leadership, and his valued friendship. A profound sense of fairplay was one of his attributes that he most cherished. No finer tributes have been paid to him on this quality than those from his colleagues who have disagreed with him politically.

It is merely a statement of the obvious to say that Dick Russell was a very intelligent man. There are many intelligent men, but far rarer are those who combine with their brain power,

as he did, such a wealth of commonsense and sound judgment.

As a counselor of Presidents, he was one of the first to see clearly the role, the burdens and the promise of the United States as leader of the free world.

The Nation has lost a faithful, dedicated public servant, and the people of America have lost one of their most stanch defenders of our national security and honor.

Hon. James B. Pearson
OF KANSAS

Mr. President, the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell has caused a hurried Nation to pause and assess this extraordinary man and the great qualities he represents. As dean of the U.S. Senate, Richard Russell stood unchallenged as the most skillful legislator of our time. His part in building and exercising civilian discipline over the Armed Forces, was perhaps as important as that of any man in the history of our Nation. And his role as advisor to Presidents, especially in periods of international crisis, is one that represents the best tradition of consultation and mutual respect as between the Senate and the executive branch. As a member of the Warren Commission, Senator Russell's undisputed honesty and prestige helped bring to the Commission's report a degree of credibility demanded by the ragged emotions of the national tragedy which called the Commission into being.

As a Senator, Richard Russell was firm, knowledgeable, and fair. His excellent staff is a credit to his judgment and the serious manner with which he approached the institution.

The fact that even his painful and burdensome illness did not prevent him from guiding the work of the Appropriations Committee, or from appearing on this floor to vote during the past year, is only the most obvious evidence of his great personal courage and dedication.

Some will say the passing of Richard B. Russell augurs an era of change in the Senate. Perhaps such an era has come. But, if so, it will be, in my judgment, an era of growth based on the desire we all share, within the Senate and without, to see the qualities of dignity and quiet responsibility which were borne so lightly by Richard Russell, strengthened in this institution in the 1970's and beyond.

Richard Russell was a Senator's Senator and a dedicated patriot. He was one of the Nation's great men. We shall miss him sorely.

Hon. Gale W. McGee
OF WYOMING

Mr. President, it is with great sadness that I rise to join my colleagues from both sides of the aisle to pay tribute to our departed dean, Senator Richard Brevard Russell, who most decidedly was, as President Nixon called him, "a great patriot."

Dick Russell was our President pro tempore by virtue of seniority, Mr. President. But it is well to recall that, although he was senior in this Chamber, it was not seniority alone which made him a powerful voice, a virtual personification of what the U.S. Senate is and should be. Indeed, it may be said the Senate was his home.

Dick Russell, for all the power and influence he not only held but had earned, was a humble man. Anyone can look at his official biography in the Congressional Directory and find there the simply entry: "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga." That is all. It does not note that he came to the Senate in 1933 at the age of 35, its youngest Member, and was elected and reelected by an appreciative constituency until he became its senior Member. It does not say, for instance, that even prior to his first Senate term at what is indeed a tender age for so high an office he already had served his beloved State of Georgia as its Governor. It does not say he had served as chairman of both the Armed Services and Appropriations Committee of the Senate.

It is left for others, Mr. President, to remark that Richard Russell was a model of fairness, of courtesy, a man of his word, and a legislator of massive knowledge and ability. He was all these things and more. He was, above all, an honorable man. He will be missed by even those who do not realize it, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I will greatly miss Dick Russell, whose friendship and advice I have prized for a dozen years. My condolences are with his family, friends and the people of Georgia.

Hon. Winston L. Prouty
OF VERMONT

Mr. President, Senator Richard Russell was a great man. He will be remembered among the greatest men who have served in this body. Like Webster and Calhoun, his greatness will continue to inspire those of us who serve here now and those who will be chosen to serve here as long as our Nation endures.

Senator Russell held great power and commanded immeasurable respect. This respect of his colleagues and the Nation was accorded the man and not the power.

He deserved our respect because he was a man of honor. Several years ago, contemplating the end of his service in the Senate, he said:

> When the time comes for me to go out of this Chamber, whether I go out voluntarily, whether my commission is revoked by the electorate of Georgia, or whether I am carried out in a box, I hope it will at least be possible to say of me that I was an honorable man. I do not know of anything that might be said that would better please me.

Richard Russell was an honorable man. He was a man who served his Nation with honor for 50 years. He combined honor with a deep sense of duty. Apparently he followed his father's admonition to "marry your work if you are going into a public career." He upheld his tremendous responsibilities with unending work and the Nation was protected from peril and guided to new greatness through his labors.

Honor and duty are words that come to mind when I contemplate the life of Richard Russell, but there is another word that remains in my thoughts of Senator Russell. It is the word nobility. It is a word used infrequently in America, but I think used well when describing Richard Russell.

In memorializing George Washington at the Washington Centennial Service in St. Paul's Chapel in New York City, Bishop Henry Codman Potter spoke of the quality of a great leader. The words are as applicable to Richard Russell as to our first President. Bishop Potter observed:

> If there is no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable it is that there should be a nobility of ascent—a character in them that bear rule so fine and high and pure that as men come within the circle of its influence, they involuntarily pay homage to that which is the one pre-eminent distinction, the royalty of virtue.

His service in the Senate spanned the terms of six Presidents. Each relied on his counsel. All acknowledged his greatness. Last February, at a reception honoring Richard Russell, President Nixon put it this way:

> Senator Russell wanted to walk on my left, but I insisted he walk on my right. If kings and prime ministers can walk on the right of the President, the Senator from Georgia also can.

Richard Russell nobly served his Nation and his nobility will endure.

After a brave physical struggle, he died on the day the 92d Congress convened. I contemplated proceeding without him and though I know we shall, I realize this Congress will be different.

But if he is not with us, there remains before us a legacy of his honor, a new measure of greatness and model of nobility with which to proceed. His death sorrows me. His life shall continue to inspire me.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
OF MINNESOTA

Mr. President, we have truly lost a great American and patriot. Senator Richard Brevard Russell gave more than 50 years of his life to public service. History will remember him—as do those of us who were fortunate enough to have served with him here—as one of our most famous Senators.

While steadfastly holding to his own views and political philosophy, he commanded the respect and confidence of Presidents and his colleagues in both political parties.

It has been said of him that had he been born in another region of the country, Richard Russell might well have been President of the United States. Such was his ability.

But Richard Russell could not be so simply transplanted. He was the personification of Georgia and the South that he loved and served so steadfastly and loyally as, first, a member of the State legislature, then as speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, Governor of the State, and ultimately U.S. Senator.

It may be said of Richard Russell, as Shakespeare said in Julius Caesar:

> He doth bestride the narrow world like a Colossus; and we petty men walk under his huge legs, and peep

about. . . . His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, "This was a man."

Richard Brevard Russell was a giant, a colossus, in the Senate. A fine parliamentarian and skillful tactician, he earned the respect of his most ardent opponents.

He and I often found ourselves on opposite sides of many issues, but we were friends. He was an honorable man, and he fought a good fight.

He was calm in the face of crisis and turmoil.

He would adroitly marshal his forces and guide them through battle with a skilled and steady hand.

He displayed an acute understanding of the issues and problems facing our Government. And whether you agreed with him or not, you could not fault Richard Russell's sincerity, dedication, honesty, and integrity. He fought for what he felt was best for America.

Mr. President, I would like to close with a sentence of tribute from the editorial page of last Friday's New York Times, a newspaper with which Senator Russell did not always agree:

Public men, whether they are right or wrong, are measured by their character and by the size of the issues which concern them. By these standards, Richard Russell was a big man.

Hon. J. Caleb Boggs
OF DELAWARE

Mr. President, this is a very sad time for the Senate and the Nation, for today we mourn the loss of a great leader and distinguished statesman, Senator Richard B. Russell.

The late Senator from Georgia earned the respect and admiration of all who have served with him in this body over the last 38 years. Each of us can testify to his love for his great State, his dedication to the work of the Senate, and his devotion to his country.

In carrying out his duties as President pro tempore of the Senate, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, as member and former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and as senior Senator from Georgia, Senator Russell set a high example of integrity and hard work.

During my 2 years' service on the Appropriations Committee under the chairmanship of the late Senator, I have come to know and admire his rare leadership qualities firsthand. Senator Russell served that committee and the interests of the Nation well. His guidance and judgment will be sadly missed.

Now he is gone, but the example which he set will remain in our memories. It is with a deep sense of loss that I join with my colleagues today in pausing to pay tribute to this outstanding American and distinguished colleague who has passed forever from our midst.

Hon. Norris Cotton
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, many words come to mind when one thinks of Richard Russell. Statesman, patriot, leader, adviser, friend.

Personally, though, I find that I invariably think first of Dick Russell in connection with a term which not only summarizes his complete character but which also was reflected in every role in which he was engaged during his distinguished life.

That word is "gentleman" and I use it not only in its generally accepted meaning but more importantly I employ it in that basic sense of the term which we sometimes tend to forget until we separate the word into its two component parts: Dick Russell was, indeed, a gentle man.

It is appropriate to reflect on this fact today for although Dick Russell probably contributed as much to our Nation in innumerable ways as any person in the history of the Congress, his most important legacy, perhaps, is the lesson he provided us so eloquently through his own life that gentleness and power complement rather than exclude one another.

The proud eagle which is the symbol of our Nation, Mr. President, clutches the olive branch of peace, but also, in its other claws, the arrows of war—just in case.

Dick Russell was the living personification of that symbol.

With the inborn warmth he inherited from his native Georgia and the deep sensitivity which enabled him to regard all men as his brothers, Dick Russell helped provide health for the sick, education for the illiterate, opportunity for the oppressed, and a helping hand for the vanquished.

At the same time, though, he recognized the fact that tyrants sometimes mistake gentleness for weakness and generosity for gullibility, and consequently he made sure, especially through his efforts in behalf of our armed services, that the muscle of America would remain as strong as its heart.

Yes, Mr. President, Dick Russell was a gentle man, and from his gentleness sprang such strength that untold generations to come will continue to benefit from his outstanding work.

This is how our Nation will remember him, and so will I, but on a much more personal basis, this particular Yankee Senator from New Hampshire will deeply miss the magnificent southern gentleman from Georgia who honored him with one of the most inspiring friendships it has ever been his privilege to enjoy.

Hon. John G. Tower
OF TEXAS

Mr. President, when a great man like Richard Russell dies, immediately one's own experiences with him come sharply into focus and one tends to lapse into self-pitying sentimentality, in trying to say what is on his heart and mind to say.

The Senate, the Nation, English-speaking people, are so much the less for his passing. He epitomized the better qualities—all that was best of those things. And I think that there is not the potential in any of us who remain in this body to equal him. Those of us who served with him can only be grateful that he lived and moved among us, and led us in countless crises.

By any objective standard, historians will proclaim for future generations to know how much he meant to us all.

Hon. Paul J. Fannin
OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, there has never been a more dedicated Member of the U.S. Congress than Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

Many of us in this Chamber benefited from Senator Russell's counsel and guidance. I had the privilege of working with him on a number of occasions. He was gracious and had the generosity to extend his helping hand to neophytes in the Senate regardless of party or where they stood on the political spectrum.

In the past few days, we have heard many words used to describe Senator Russell. Two of these words especially stick in my mind—"gentleman" and "patriot."

Senator Russell had all the qualities of a true southern gentleman. He was a man of the 20th century, yet a Senator who was endowed with courtliness of a more elegant time in our Nation's history. He was a reminder that the business of government can be and should be carried on with honor and dignity.

Senator Russell was a patriot who knew that America must be strong, that our Nation must be able to defend itself and its allies against attacks from aggressors. All Americans who enjoy freedom today owe him a debt for fighting to keep the United States militarily healthy.

He was one of the great men in the history of the U.S. Senate. His death is a tremendous loss to the Nation.

Hon. Quentin N. Burdick
OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, the Nation and certainly the people of Georgia lost a patriot. The passing of Senator Richard Russell was a great loss to the Nation and all who knew and who respected his dedication to America.

Senator Russell performed his duties with dignity and charm, constantly striving to maintain perfection. I am grateful for having the opportunity to serve with a man whose generosity was equal to his genius.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family in their great loss and to the people of Georgia whom he served with such devotion for more than four decades.

Hon. Bob Dole
OF KANSAS

Mr. President, the Nation has suffered a great loss with the passing of Senator Richard Russell. During his nearly four decades of service in the Senate, Senator Russell became a national institution, transcending partisan politics and personal ambitions to become the reigning statesman of the Senate.

He was truly a patriot first and a man who had the genuine respect of all those who served with him in Congress.

President Richard Nixon paid tribute to Senator Russell in Atlanta, Ga., on Saturday, January 23, and at that time expressed his thoughts concerning this great American.

The President's remarks describe the feelings of respect and sorrow felt by so many Americans.

Mr. President, Senator Russell was a great American; he was a great U.S. Senator; he was a great defender of American security; and he was as Vice President Agnew said yesterday, a Senator's Senator. It was a high privilege to have served with him because of his patience and his understanding of the problems, real or imaginary, of the Senate's newer Members. He is gone but his wise counsel will be remembered by many of us throughout our tenure in the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT AT GEORGIA CAPITOL, ATLANTA, JANUARY 23, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen: I have just had the very great honor of representing the people of the United States in paying tribute to Senator Russell.

I have laid a wreath on the casket in the State Capitol of Georgia, and then I have met with members of his family, a very large family and a very devoted family, and spoke to them about what Senator Russell has meant to this country.

Last night on national television in the State of the Union, I asked the members of the House and the Senate to rise in a silent tribute of prayer to Senator Russell. I said then that he was a great Senator, and that he was a good friend for all of those who had the privilege to know him.

I think that my feelings today, as I stand here at the Capitol in the State of Georgia, go really to things more fundamental than friendship or service in the United States Senate. They go to the character of this man.

Richard Russell was certainly one of the most intelligent men ever to serve in the United States Senate. I have often heard it said that no new member of the Senate should ever dare try to tangle with him. In fact, no older member of the Senate would dare to do so with hope of coming out ahead.

He was one of the hardest working members of the Senate. He was one who, of course, served in the Senate so many years that he had high seniority. But what really set him apart was what we call character—character which grew up over a period of years; character that came from his native soil of his native State; character that came from his family; character that came from his deep religious belief; and character which came from a sense of patriotism that enabled him to serve six Presidents with equal devotion.

The way I summarize Senator Russell's place in history very briefly is this: Had he been born ten years later and served in the Senate ten years later, he would probably have been President of the United States. All of those who knew him put him in that league.

But not having been President of the United States, he did something else that perhaps could have meant just as much. For six Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Johnson, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and then President Nixon—he was an advisor and a tower of strength in all areas of foreign policy and in national defense.

I would remember Senator Russell as a President's Senator, one that a President could always turn to when there was a hard fight, a close vote; one that he could always turn to and confide any information that was extremely confidential, knowing that it would never go beyond that room.

And I also remember one other thing that I think summarizes it all. I mentioned last night that I called on the Senator shortly before his death at Walter Reed Hospital, and what impressed me about him was that here was this man suffering in the last days of his life and never for one moment during about 45 minutes that we were there in the room did he talk about himself. He just talked about the country that he loved so much. And he talked about the national defense of this country and the need to keep it strong.

When the conversation was over, and as I left the room, I will never forget the last words that he spoke. As I recall, this is what he said: "I only wish I could get down there and help."

I think that summarizes Richard Russell's life. He always wanted to be wherever he could be to help, and he has set an example for all of us as Americans to be proud of, an example for all of us to emulate, a selfless service to America.

We throw the word "great" around rather loosely these days, and every man who serves in the United States Senate, or the Congress is, in a sense, a great man to have achieved that place of honor. But when we use the word "great" with Senator Russell, all of us who knew him, all of us who had the opportunity to serve with him, know in our hearts that if we had to pick one Senator that we felt stood out above all the rest in times of crisis, that a President could rely on, it would be Richard Russell of Georgia.

That is why he was not just this President's Senator, but every President's Senator. He is going to be missed by this State. He is going to be missed by this country. But he is particularly going to be missed by Presidents of the United States in the future.

Hon. Philip A. Hart

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, in the tradition of the Senate he knew so well, we pause to pay tribute to the late Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia.

To some, Senator Russell was a great man.

To others, he was a man of great capacity whose chance for higher political office was stunted by the old politics of the South.

Mr. President, those are judgments better left to history.

Rather our task today is to define what we know of the man.

To define Senator Russell primarily as an outstanding legislative tactician would be to ignore the fact that he, too, had a vision of what this Nation should be.

To stress his success as an opponent of civil rights legislation would be to ignore his success in helping to enact reforms during the era of the depression.

But above all, Senator Russell should be remembered as a man of principle, as a man who fought for what he believed was right rather than for what he thought might win votes. And I say that as one who was on the opposite side of numerous legislative debates.

Cynics may dismiss my words as meaningless Senate rhetoric, and friends of Senator Russell may consider them small praise indeed.

To the cynics I would say that each man is a product of his past made up of the accidents of geography, time, and upbringing.

Senator Russell and I came from different pasts and had different views and visions.

To say that a person with different views and visions cannot be a man of principle is to deny the pluralistic and democratic traditions of this Nation.

To his friends who may contend my praise insignificant, I can only add that I suspect Senator Russell would have rather been remembered as a man of principle than as a man who was President.

Each of us, regardless from what past we came and of what future we seek, have gained from having known and worked with Senator Russell.

And because of that, each of us is poorer for his death. Let the historians of the future take these words into account when they seek to judge the Senator from Winder, Ga.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd

OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that various communications from foreign governments expressing condolences on the severe loss of the late distinguished President pro tempore, the distinguished Senator from Georgia (Mr. Russell), be printed in the Record.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
January 22, 1971.

Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW,
President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

The Greek Orthodox of America and abroad mourn the death of Richard B. Russell, beloved and respected dean of the Senate, extraordinary public servant and patriot, heeded counselor of six Presidents whose half century of dedicated service to the citizenry has seldom been equaled in the annals of the Nation. We express our deepest condolences to members of his family and we pray that God may rest his soul in eternal peace.

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS.

PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

1. The members of United States European Command and of Allied Command Europe join me in expressing sorrow at the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell, dean of the United States Senate. His firm, able, and impartial leadership will be sorely missed. A man of ability, integrity and a deeply imbued personal sense of honor, Senator Russell's achievements in the Senate and his contributions to our country merit the respect and admiration of all Americans. We in the Armed Forces in Europe honor him for his services as foremost Senate authority on military matters for many years. His death is a great loss to the people of Georgia, to the United States Senate and to the Nation.

2. We express our deepest sympathy and sincere condolences to the United States Senate.

General GOODPASTER.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D.C., January 22, 1971.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: May I express to you my most sincere condolences on the severe loss which the United States Senate has suffered through the death of its dean, Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

Having been actively engaged for more than half his lifetime as a Senator of the United States, Richard Brevard Russell has served his country to an unusually high degree. This honorable man, who had come to symbolize the institution to which he had devoted himself so much, will always be remembered as a most outstanding personality in our country.

Sincerely yours,

HANS H. NOEBEL,
Charge d'Affaires a. i.

Hon. B. Everett Jordan
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, the death of Senator Richard Russell has closed a magnificent chapter in the history of the Nation he loved so much and served so long and so well.

I mourn, as does every other Member of this Senate, the passing of a man who rightfully will be remembered as one of America's finest statesmen and most illustrious political and legislative leaders.

But mixed with my sorrow is a sense of awe and thankfulness that our country was blessed by the fruits of his strength, his wisdom and his expert guidance in such a splendid way for so many years.

And I am very grateful for the high personal privilege of having shared the last 12 of those years with him in these Halls and of benefiting so greatly from his leadership.

History denied this man the chance to be President—a role I am completely convinced he would have filled with exceptional distinction.

But it afforded him the opportunity to serve as a confidant and counsel of no less than six Chief Executives during periods of national trial and crisis which tested to the very core the fiber of his own greatness.

He was in a very real sense the architect of America's military strength and the country's role as a defender of weaker nations during the years he served as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

For what he accomplished there, the entire free world, as well as his own country, owes him a debt of undying gratitude.

In times of domestic turmoil he was ever a tower of strength and a voice of wisdom and reason in these Halls where we now pay such richly deserved tribute to his memory.

Richard Russell loved the South which gave him birth and fought with consummate skill for its legislative causes.

He loved his party and championed it in countless battles.

But, above all, he loved his country and what it stood for and it was to its laws, traditions, and dreams that he gave himself without question or reservation.

He brought to that task qualities of fairness, courage, and unswerving integrity that made him a legend in his own time.

The voice of Richard Russell is forever stilled.

The things he said and did in his nearly four decades of outstanding public service, however, will live on as a rich heritage for future generations of Americans as well as in the memory of those of us who were so privileged to know this great man.

Hon. Frank E. Moss
OF UTAH

Mr. President, one of the giants of the 20th century has gone in the passing of Richard Brevard Russell. A man of courage, of character, of discrimination, and of enormous ability, he was without question the Senate's most respected and revered Member. Only the fact of his southern birth and allegiance kept him from looming even larger in our national life.

Although Dick Russell and I came from different parts of the country, and often stood on opposite sides of a question, I found him at all times not only the most skilled and eloquent exponent of the view he held, but the best example of the courtesy and respect with which one Member of the U.S. Senate treats another. His grace at all times, both when he won and when he lost, was an inspiration.

The Senator from Georgia was at the peak of his powers when I entered the Senate 12 years ago, and my admiration—then great—has grown with the years. His mastery of the Senate rules, and his effective use of these tools, will not soon be equaled.

I always found him friendly, warm, and helpful, typifying day-in and day-out the highest ideals of Senate service. I shall miss greatly this aristocratic, wise and splendid man with whom it has been a privilege to be associated.

Hon. William B. Spong, Jr.
OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues in expressing my great respect for Senator Richard B. Russell and my sense of loss at his death.

Senator Russell was an extraordinary man. He devoted his life to public service and earned the respect of all who knew him.

Virginians greatly admired Senator Russell and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record editorials published in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and the Richmond Times-Dispatch on January 23.

[From the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

As long as 35 years ago they were saying in Georgia: "Don't run against Dick Russell unless you're just looking for the publicity."

Richard B. Russell was not as popular, politically, in all the rest of the nation, but he enjoyed a greater honor. He was held in high respect, even by those who sharply disagreed with him.

Russell fought Harry Truman hard on some major issues—civil rights and labor laws, particularly—and he was the South's candidate at the 1948 Democratic National Convention which nominated the Missourian. But Truman called him "one of the ablest men in the Senate."

In the early 1950's Truman, who had fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur as commander of our forces in the Far East, saw Russell conduct hearings on that highly controversial and explosive action that were a model of fairness and propriety. Years later, Russell was one of the relatively few Americans in high places who expressed grave doubts about our involvement in another area of the Far East—Vietnam. But when the U.S. became committed there, the Georgian gave his full and loyal support.

Russell was dedicated to the cause of military preparedness, and his influence may have helped spare us a terrible disaster. He was among the first to urge that the U.S. prepare for aggression from Hitler, then marching in Europe. He opposed the arms embargo that was keeping materiel of war from our friends, and he supported enactment of selective service and the adoption of lend-lease. And after the war he backed the Marshall Plan to help rebuild and strengthen Western Europe.

Perhaps Russell's biggest mistake in public life was his attempt to win the presidential nomination in 1952. It was in this unsuccessful campaign that he did something uncharacteristic of Richard Russell, though commonplace among politicians seeking a broad spectrum of support. Contrary to everything he had said and done before and to the great consternation of his Southern supporters, Russell issued a campaign statement that seemed to favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law and to accept the idea of a Federal Employment Practices Commission. Seldom, though, was Richard Russell guilty of such inconsistency.

It was also in that 1952 campaign that the Georgia senator made this statement:

"I believe in states' rights because the principle of dual government is the only thing that supports freedom of local self-government. If it weren't for the doctrine of states' rights, we in Congress today would be passing laws to run your school boards, telling you what kind of city government and county government you must have and how it should be run."

How prophetic was this warning from the eminent Southern, and American, statesman! And what a loss it is to the entire nation that his death removes from the U.S. Senate a man of such vision, character and dedication to fundamental principles on which America was founded.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga. This is all the biography to identify the dean of the United States Senate in the Congressional Directory, but enough for a man whose name was a reputation.

Mr. Russell was always and essentially a man of the Senate. The institution was his life (he never married) and he became an institution within the institution. He was 35, the youngest member, when he entered the Senate on January 12, 1933, just prior to the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. (He had been elected Governor of Georgia at 33, the youngest in the history of the state.) Only Arizona's Carl Hayden (1926–1968) ever enjoyed a longer tenure, and at his death Thursday Mr. Russell was undoubtedly the most respected man in the Senate.

It was sometimes said that he could have been President if he had not been a Southerner, and perhaps so. Certainly, he can be compared to another quintessential Senator who was denied the Presidency but earned a great reputation in the Senate, Ohio's "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft. Each was an austere patrician who was ambitious for the Presidency at the peak of his powers and embittered by his party's rejection. Each was hugely influential in a quiet way within the Senate. Each was fated to failing health in his last years. Each life was marked by a kind of splendid tragedy.

It was Mr. Russell's special tragedy, as the acknowledged leader of the South, to command its Gettysburg in the Senate, when filibusters failed to block the passage of the civil rights bills that he opposed. (He was not a racist, but rather a traditionalist—a distinction respected in the Senate.) Mr. Russell was a champion of military preparedness and an internationalist (that was where the so-called "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southerners often parted ways) in the mold of his fellow Georgian, Senator Walter George. Although he was chairman of the Armed Services Committee for more than 15 years, Mr. Russell was anything but a militarist.

He was never the Mendel Rivers of the Senate. He and Lyndon Johnson, then the Majority Leader, opposed the military's recommendation to President Eisenhower to intervene in Indochina to assist the French at the time of Dienbienphu in 1954, and he persistently sought an honorable way out of Vietnam; his opposition was also crucial in forestalling intervention in the Congo. (It is one of the ironies of politics that Lyndon Johnson rose to power as a protege of Mr. Russell's in the Senate, that he broke the unwritten law that had barred his patron from the Presidency as a Southerner, and that he was

broken, in the end, by the very war he earlier had opposed.)

What was perhaps Mr. Russell's finest moment in the Senate is all but forgotten now. In April 1951 General MacArthur returned to the United States after he had been relieved by President Truman and received a hero's welcome. The emotion of the moment obscured the Constitutional crisis that the defiance of General MacArthur represented, and it is a measure of its seriousness that the combined membership of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees conducted an investigation under the chairmanship of Mr. Russell. The proceedings were conducted with a decorum and thoroughness that brought the country to its senses. As William S. White wrote in *Citadel,* an affectionate biography of the Senate, the hearings succeeded in dissipating the emotionalism, "protected . . . the American tradition of the pre-eminent civil authority, (and) halted what was then an almost runaway movement toward rejection of the United Nations . . . It was a historic achievement, the finest service alike of Russell and all who served with him."

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge

OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, the largest delegation of Senators ever assembled for the funeral of a departed Member of the U.S. Senate left Washington Sunday morning to attend and take part in the last rites for our late beloved colleague, Richard Brevard Russell at Winder, Ga.

The official funeral party, led by the distinguished Vice President in Air Force 2, was carried by two other Boeing 707 jetliners. Plans were for the group to land at Dobbins Air Force Base in Marietta and then to be transported to Russell Memorial Park at Winder. The official funeral party included the Vice President, 53 Members of the U.S. Senate, 17 Members of the House of Representatives, Secretary of the Treasury-designate, John Connally, staff and friends of the late Senator Russell.

Adverse weather conditions at Dobbins and in the Atlanta area prevented our group from landing, and threatened to delay the funeral and to otherwise destroy plans that had been made for our attendance. A number of us, the Vice President, the distinguished majority leader, the distinquished Senator from Mississippi, Congressman Phil Landrum, dean of the Georgia delegation, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the Senate, and myself, were scheduled to deliver eulogies to the late Senator Russell at the graveside. There was painful disappointment aboard all three aircraft, and among the Russell family at Winder, when it appeared that we would not be able to fulfill our mission.

However, I am pleased to report to the Senate that the official party did participate in the funeral and complete our assignment of paying our last respects to Dick Russell, in behalf of the Congress, the people of Georgia, and the Nation, even though we could not be at Winder in person.

This was made possible through the marvels of modern communication and television broadcasting in the public interest.

When it became virtually obvious that we were not going to get on the ground at Dobbins Air Force Base, after flying in a holding pattern for some time, the Vice President directed the three aircraft to fly to Charleston Air Force Base. Alternate plans were discussed. Secretary-designate Connally suggested that a memorial service for Senator Russell be held in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol when the group returned to Washington. By telephone from Air Force 2, I was able to contact at Winder, Bill Jordan, spokesman for the family in the funeral arrangements, to apprise him of the situation.

When the party landed at Charleston, about 12:30 p.m., I, still aboard Air Force 2, talked by telephone to J. Leonard Reinsch, president of Cox Broadcasting, Inc., which owns WSB–Television in Atlanta. Mr. Reinsch was coordinator of radio, television, and photographic coverage of Senator Russell's funeral.

Drawing on his vast experience as principal coordinator of television coverage of Democratic national conventions, as well as the funerals of the late President Kennedy and Senator Kennedy, Leonard Reinsch devised and put into motion an alternate plan that made our participation in the Russell funeral possible.

He contacted John Rivers, owner of WCSC–TV in Charleston and ascertained that the station could provide a direct television feed to Atlanta, which then could be transmitted by WSB–TV to the graveside at Winder. Mr. Rivers had just gotten home from church, and he summoned television crews and went to the WCSC–TV studio.

In Winder, Jasper Dorsey, vice president of Southern Bell Telephone Co., arranged for telephone circuits to bring in the audio and video from Charleston, and for live communications to be relayed back and forth.

A motorcade was assembled and principal members of the funeral party, those of us who were scheduled to deliver eulogies, were hurried to the station. Our eulogies were delivered by live television to receivers at the graveside, and also transmitted simultaneously over every television station in the State of Georgia. The program also was made available to radio stations all over Georgia. Thus, we were able to participate in the funeral in this way, and I have been informed that the live color television transmission was carried out without any technical difficulties.

All of us, of course, deeply regretted that it was not possible for our party to be with the family at Winder. We were there in spirit, and I am gratified that we were able to deliver our eulogies in this way to honor the life and memory of the great U.S. Senator, Richard Brevard Russell.

We owe high commendation and appreciation to the television facilities of WCSC, WSB, and Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co., and we are especially grateful to J. Leonard Reinsch, John Rivers, and Jasper Dorsey, for the efforts they put forth to make this project a success. It was carried out in the finest traditions of the broadcast industry, and it was another splendid example of how the commercial broadcast industry combined with a public utility stand ready and willing to serve the public interest when called upon to do so.

At the conclusion of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record articles from Monday's edition of the Atlanta Constitution that recounts the experiences of the funeral party Sunday.

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 25, 1971]

FOG RESTRAINS AGNEW PARTY

(By Bob Hurt)

CHARLESTON, S.C.—Though diverted from the funeral of Richard B. Russell because of bad weather, the official delegation of the U.S. Senate made its presence felt through a near-miraculous last-minute change of plans.

The story unfolded when three Boeing 707 jetliners carrying the official funeral party from Washington were unable to land at Dobbins Air Force Base on their intended journey to the Russell gravesite at Winder.

One plane, Air Force 2, carried Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and his wife, along with U.S. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge and Ninth District Rep. Phil Landrum and their wives, and Senate leaders.

Another carried the remainder of the 53 senators in the mourning delegation and the third carried 57 Russell staff members and Washington friends.

Talmadge said the Senate group was the largest funeral delegation he had seen in his 14 years in Washington.

But as Agnew's aircraft made its approach at Dobbins, the pilot dropped to within 150 feet of the runway and then flew on because he was unable to see the ground.

The plane made a second unsuccessful try, and returned to a holding pattern. The staff plane also made two landing attempts and also was unsuccessful because of the rain and fog.

All three planes pulled into a holding pattern over Atlanta in an attempt to wait for a break in the poor visibility.

Talmadge said radio checks with Atlanta Airport and alternate airports in Gainesville, Winder, Athens and Greenville, S.C., showed they too had unacceptable weather for landings. The planes turned toward Charleston about noon.

Eastern and Delta airlines reported flight delays at Atlanta Airport, but said operations there generally continued as usual despite bad visibility.

Delta reported one flight was diverted to another airport.

Talmadge said the conditions were declared unsafe and at the direction of Vice President Agnew the planes flew on to Charleston Air Force Base, S.C., the nearest open military field.

En route to Charleston, Treasury Secretary-designate John Connally, a member of the vice president's party, suggested as an alternative that the groups return to Washington and hold a memorial service in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol.

Utilizing the elaborate communications equipment of Air Force 2, Talmadge placed a call to members of the Russell family in Winder to suggest the alternative ceremony.

Shortly after the plane's touchdown at Charleston at 12:28 p.m., Talmadge had heard from J. Leonard Reinsch, president of Cox Broadcasting, Inc., who handled television coverage of the funeral services.

Reinsch had learned that a Charleston television station, WCSC–TV, was capable of direct television feed to Atlanta and could thus transmit to Winder a program of planned eulogies by the Washington officials.

At 1:15 p.m. Talmadge, Agnew, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, Minority Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Landrum, Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi, and the U.S. Senate chaplain were sped away on a 12-mile drive to the Charleston television station.

Television crews were waiting for the group and began a live transmission at 2:35 p.m.

The remaining Senate planes left immediately for the return flight to Andrews Air Force Base near Washington.

The unexpected landing at Charleston threw the base into a brief period of confusion, while Air Force Col. William Dufault, base commander, wandered through the throng of senators and other dignitaries and personally assisted in the arrangements.

Dufault, summoned to the base moments before and still wearing civilians sports clothes, called in a team of Air Force security men, sealed off traffic intersections

along scattered points at the base, and arranged for Highway Patrol escort.

Secret Service agents thronged nervously about Agnew as he paced back and forth on the pavement beside the parked Air Force 2.

A total of 53 senators and 17 House members, most of them members of the Georgia House delegation, were on the flights.

(From the Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 25, 1971)

TV Prevents Funeral Delay

Winder, Ga.—In a less modern day, Sen. Richard Russell's funeral might have been postponed for a day or more because many of the principal participants in the ceremony were unable to come.

Thanks to television and the telephone company, the funeral was delayed only one hour.

Thirty minutes before the ceremony was scheduled to begin, J. Leonard Reinsch, who had been asked by the Russell family to handle media coverage of the funeral, was notified that a plane bearing 53 senators and Vice President Spiro Agnew had to land at Charleston, 250 miles from Winder, because Atlanta-area airports were socked in.

Reinsch, president of Cox Broadcasting Corp., conferred with Southern Bell Telephone Co. vice president Jasper Dorsey, and came up with the answer: Part of the ceremony would be televised from Charleston, S.C.

"This will be a first—if it works," said Reinsch, who had arranged television coverage of the funerals of both President John F. Kennedy and Sen. Robert Kennedy, as well as the Democratic National Convention.

It worked all right. Dorsey arranged for the telephone circuits to bring in the audio and video portions of the ceremony from Charleston television station WCSC.

Sen. Herman Talmadge, who was among the grounded delegation in Charleston, was used as the go-between in arranging the South Carolina end of the rites.

Two color television sets, draped in waterproof plastic, were placed on either side of the funeral tent.

And the ceremony was carried out right on cue, although some of the family complained about electronic aspects of the otherwise simple, rural service.

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Talmadge. I yield.

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. Before the Senator yields the floor, I wish to join in expressing our gratitude to those individuals who have been named by the distinguished Senator in his remarks. I was on the plane with Senator Talmadge, and I wish to state that in my opinion, the crew of that plane did everything that it possibly could to safely deliver us to our destination in Georgia.

Mr. Talmadge. Will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. I yield.

Mr. Talmadge. I was informed by the distinguished majority leader that Air Force Two came within 90 feet of the ground without being able to see it.

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. Yes. Mr. President, I was greatly impressed by the remarkable ingenuity which was displayed on the part of Mr. Reinsch, Mr. Rivers, and others who so quickly and so resourcefully put together the television crew at WCSC–TV in Charleston, S.C., and made the further arrangements required for the televised broadcast. They did a magnificent job, and I cannot compliment them too highly. Moreover, the police in the Charleston, S.C., area are to be commended for their assistance and cooperation.

Each of us also appreciated the courtesy of the Vice President. I thank the distinguished Senator from Georgia (Mr. Talmadge) for taking the floor to express our appreciation for the efforts of the station in South Carolina and the people at WSB–TV in Georgia, to make it possible for the eulogies to be delivered at the graveside of our late revered and highly beloved friend, who was with us for many years and who is now departed from us—Richard Brevard Russell.

Mr. Talmadge. I thank my friend.

Hon. Ted Stevens

OF ALASKA

Mr. President, today we pause for a few moments to pay tribute to a late member of this body, the Honorable Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia.

Throughout his life of service to the people of Georgia, the South, and the United States, Richard Russell demonstrated those qualities which have distinguished many southern lawyer-statesmen. Though he has been characterized as a southern conservative, Russell's intelligence and integrity earned him the respect of men from all walks of life and of all political persuasions. He rose to a position of immense power in the Senate, not merely by virtue of his 38 years of seniority, but through his great powers of persuasion, his facile mind, and his capacity for hard work. As evidence of the high esteem in which he was held during his life of public service, the late Senator Russell was chosen time and again to perform very difficult tasks of great

importance to this Nation. Thus the Senator was chosen to preside over the joint Senate committee which investigated the controversy surrounding Gen. Douglas MacArthur's dismissal in 1951, was appointed by President Johnson to serve on the Warren Commission, and was selected to lead a five-man committee which undertook a detailed examination of the American war effort during World War II. In addition, Senator Russell served as an informal adviser and confidant to Presidents from both parties and from several points on the political spectrum.

Richard Russell's achievements also earned him the recognized leadership of the southern congressional bloc. In both the 1948 and 1952 Democratic National Conventions, he was nominated as the southern choice for President.

During his life of epic achievement, the late Senator Russell remained a quiet, gentlemanly, almost shy man. He never sought publicity nor attempted to impress his colleagues with flashy rhetoric. But, this is not to say that he was not a forceful advocate and a fierce adversary. In many instances, his beliefs were later translated into the law of the land; in some instances, his views were not accepted. In every instance, he retained the respect of opponents and supporters alike.

Although Richard Brevard Russell is dead, his achievements, his unique abilities, and his outstanding character will long be remembered. I am confident that history will mark him as a consummate statesman who transcended regional boundaries to become a Senator for all of the United States, and as a paragon worth emulating by those who would pursue a life of public service. We in the Senate and the people of this Nation have lost the services of a truly great American.

Hon. Hiram L. Fong

OF HAWAII

Mr. President, it was a very sad time for the Senate and for the Nation when death took from us on the opening day of this 92d Congress an esteemed colleague who contributed more than 50 of his 73 years to public service.

Senator Richard B. Russell, quite rightly named the dean of this U.S. Senate, will go down in history as one of our Nation's famous men. He served in the Senate for 38 years, through the terms of six Presidents. All knew him well; all sought his counsel; all respected his judgment.

In the Senate, he carried out his duties with great skill, sincerity, and dedication. He was devoted to his home State of Georgia and to his country.

During my 2 years' service on the Appropriations Committee, I came to value the friendly and knowledgeable advice of Richard Russell, the committee's most able chairman.

To quote from a portion of President Nixon's eulogy to this great man:

> He has set an example for all of us as Americans to be proud of, an example for all of us to emulate, a selfless service to America.

Hon. Thomas J. McIntyre

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, greatness was chipped from the solid block of the Senate when Richard Brevard Russell died.

It is one of the proudest facts of my life that I am able to say that I knew him, I worked with him, I served with him, and I could call this towering American my friend.

We cannot now make an objective judgment of what Richard Russell has meant to our Nation. We are too close to the time when he was here among us and when he was a major force in our deliberations. Time and history will tell the tremendous impact he had on the Senate and the history of our Nation.

I did not always agree with Richard Russell. There were areas, although not many—but areas such as civil rights where I found myself opposing him. We came from differing backgrounds and we represented different constituencies. But, I never doubted for 1 minute his true dedication to his views. I deeply respected his profound knowledge of Government, of the Congress, of the Senate, and his display and use of that knowledge to plead and accomplish much for the cause in which he so deeply believed.

I came to the Senate Armed Services Committee as the most junior majority member at a time when he was chairman of that powerful committee. I learned, as all who have served under him on the Armed Services Committee

have, of the vast understanding he possessed of the enormously complex defense structure and the devotion he displayed to assuring a viable and strong defense for our Nation.

We have lost a leader who will not soon, in all he has meant to the Senate, be replaced. We have lost a truly great American.

Hon. J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, although I did not have the pleasure of serving with the late Senator Richard B. Russell, I was very much aware of the significant role he played in guiding our Nation during the past four decades. My father served with Senator Russell and was, in fact, a member of the Armed Services Committee when it was chaired by our late colleague from Georgia. My father always spoke of him in the highest terms, describing him as a man of great strength, fairness, competency, and above all great dedication to his State, to his Nation, and to this Senate.

Senator Russell dedicated his life to the cause of constitutional government at home and unquestioned military strength abroad. His constancy in the pursuit of these goals made him a pillar of strength to six Chief Executives.

Those of us who are new to this body have been denied the opportunity to serve with a great Senator and a great American.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale
OF MINNESOTA

Mr. President, the tragic death of Senator Richard Russell marks the end of nearly 40 years of the highest service to his State and his country.

Senator Russell was a true giant within this body. Yet, his unquestioned power was a matter not simply of his years of service, but of his extraordinary intellect, parliamentary ability, dedication to the Senate, and to his capacity to bear his power with both courtesy and humility.

He was an institution in the finest sense of that word. To us all, he was both inspiring and formidable. And neither we, his colleagues, nor history will forget this man whose service to his country spanned the most critical years of this century.

Hon. Peter H. Dominick
OF COLORADO

Mr. President, the passing of Richard B. Russell is a great loss to this Nation, to the U.S. Senate, to the State of Georgia, and to me. He was a committee chairman without peer; a counselor to Presidents; and a friend to whom we could always turn, regardless of the side of the aisle on which we sat.

Dick Russell was a patient teacher to those of us junior to him. He was a great patriot and exemplified loyalty to the highest traditions of statesmanship.

Every American, regardless of party, should mourn the passing of a great champion of our liberties and the safety of our country. America has lost one of her greatest statesmen; the Senate has lost one of its most beloved leaders; the State of Georgia has lost one of her most distinguished sons. I have lost a respected colleague—a cherished friend.

Hon. John C. Stennis
OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, among the many fine editorials concerning our late friend and former colleague, Richard B. Russell, a splendid one appeared in the Twin City Sentinel of Winston-Salem, N.C., on January 23, 1971. It was written by an esteemed and highly respected editor and publisher, Mr. Wallace Carroll. With his fine perception as to our problems in self-government in our times and with his penetrating analysis of the man and the type of leadership necessary in our system of government. Mr. Carroll has made a real contribution by his comments on Senator Russell and his remarkable career. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

[From the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Twin City Sentinel, Jan. 23, 1971]

In an Age That Often Confuses Celebrity With Stature, Richard Brevard Russell Was That Rarest of Creatures—A Truly Great Man

They were almost a physical type, those tall, lean, hungry-looking southern boys who came out of the canebreak country, the small towns, the worn-out bottom land of the South to guide their stricken region toward a better future.

There is an old picture of the late Sen. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, then serving as a young aide to Gov. Cole Blease. He is wearing a period collar and high-button shoes and a suit he must have purchased that morning in some crossroads jot-'em-down store; but hovering above this uniform of the country bumpkin come to town was that stubborn mouth and the slightly mad eyes of a visionary—eyes that made the men around him seem dull and somehow irrelevant.

And there is an even older picture of Walter George of Georgia, probably in his first celluloid collar, hiding a mind that was like the cutting edge of a trimmer saw behind a clumsy, self-consciously homely exterior; and you wondered if the men of his time knew what demons of ambition possessed and drove him, as they drove the others like him, all of the poor boys rising from the devastation and poverty and bewilderment of a broken rural South to make their impress on the world beyond.

But the prototype—and the best of them—was Richard Brevard Russell of Winder, Georgia. A political animal in the pure Aristotelian sense, Senator Russell entered the Georgia legislature at the age of 23, left it as Speaker of the Georgia House to run for governor 10 years later, and left that office to become, through labor and dedication, the greatest American parliamentarian of his age and the equal of any who preceded him.

More than the others, Richard Russell seemed to embody the spiritual loneliness—the sense of isolation—that marked his region. A lifelong bachelor, he was never the gregarious, arm-squeezing southerner of popular legend. His most enduring characteristic was an integrity that one could almost feel, and it was his armor as well. Former Sen. Wayne Morse, often Russell's opponent on the floor, once said that the senior senator from Georgia was "the most virtuous of legislators." It was a fitting compliment, for his pride of self, his honesty and integrity did add up to something very much like virtue.

This did not mean he was made of cotton candy. Throughout the long civil-rights debate of the 'Fifties and 'Sixties, Russell was the most feared of senators. Armed with an incisive knowledge of procedural rules and precedent and customs, he used his 14 southern colleagues like a guerrilla army, watering down this civil-rights bill, killing that one outright, shelving another, altering the substance of all of them.

He was a segregationist, representing a people who knew nothing else, but here again there were contradictions. Never in a floor debate or in private statement did he resort to the racist language that characterized even liberal southerners like Olin Johnston; and no man on Capitol Hill did more to encourage and help implement the desegregation of the armed forces—a transition that Sen. Russell could have easily frustrated as ranking member and later, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

He was a great man. It is a term one cannot honestly apply more than a few times in a lifetime, but it can be applied to Richard Brevard Russell. It was a greatness buffeted by an age that demanded things of him he could not conscientiously give, even to be president.

But the worth of this man was written so large that it endured the setbacks, the defeats and the painful humiliations that were his due—surviving all of these things to give that lean, lanky Georgia boy in the celluloid collar an enduring place in our history.

Hon. Milton R. Young
OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, a very good and appropriate editorial concerning our beloved and departed colleague, Senator Richard Russell was published in the Minot, N. Dak., Daily News of January 26.

The editorial places Senator Russell's contributions to our Nation in proper perspective and pays well deserved tribute to him as a Senator of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News, Jan. 26, 1971]

Senator Russell—A Great Man

Along with the many who have praised him, we pay our respects most sincerely to the memory of Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia.

We agree with the sentiments of Sen. Milton R. Young of North Dakota, a long-time friend and admirer, that "ours is a greater nation because of Senator Russell."

It is hard for some single-purposed people of the present era of crusading for good causes to understand how a man could be called a great American who for years led the forces in Congress who opposed national Civil Rights legislation. Anyone who offers a tribute to Senator Russell of Georgia must take this fact into account, and explain that many a notable statesman in the history of this country has been proved either wrong or a defender of the losing side on some important cause; but despite that fact has contributed mightily to the nation's sanity and strength.

Senator Russell was not a hypocrite. He was a man whose integrity was unimpeachable, whose humanitarianism could not be questioned, and whose dedication to the Union and to the two-party system, and to the constitutional system of government, was an earnest devotion. He was a true lover of America, a believer in its destiny, and he understood the sources of the nation's strength. He conceived our system of government as "a dual system of sovereign states in an indestructible union" and in his mind and understanding of it this was no shallow conception; it was fundamental.

He loved the Senate in which he served so many years. To him it was unthinkable that the Senate should allow itself a posture of contributing to an image of U.S. weakness abroad, and to an image of national disunity, in time of war or other national emergency. He possessed, and exemplified, that Southern mystique so important to our nation, which enables Southerners to rise to national occasion and subordinate their personal and even sectional interest at times to an overriding concern

for the Union and support for the institutions of national government. Part of the mystique is the intuition as to when it is essential that this be done. Again and again we have to take off our hats to Southern gentlemen for putting the nation and its government first.

It may be argued that it is one thing to be devoted to the federal form of government in time of need and quite another, perhaps, to discern and be right on the great domestic issues of social justice which call for corrective action. Sometimes the young Northern senators, so disdainful of Southerners, have been right on the urgencies of justice, even when the Northern practice of justice has been far from exemplary. These young liberal senators, who talk so righteously, yet often accomplish so little, often promoting themselves more than their causes, might take a leaf from Senator Russell's handbook. If they did their homework as well as he did, and if they studied the system and made use of its necessary rules of procedure—instead of stomping their feet with impatience—their achievements might be more worthy of respect.

It is always easier to climb on the bandwagon of national minority groups, and be a righteous apostle of change, than to persuade a majority. In times when minority causes are rampant, someone has to have the patience to represent the majority, and give step by step leadership, and sometimes a measure of protection, to the reluctant who are on the road to change and don't know it or can't accept it. Besides, there are stubborn verities in the art of representative government which redhot reform movements are likely to disregard.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding rule VII, paragraph 5, a letter from Lt. Gen. Y. Rabin, Ambassador to the Embassy of Israel in Washington, D.C., expressing condolences and regrets at the passing of the Senator Richard B. Russell, be printed in the Record.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL,
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1971.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: It was with deep regret that I heard of the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell. Senator Russell was, I know, held in universal esteem as an outstanding parliamentarian and a great American.

I would be grateful if you would convey my condolences to his family.

Yours sincerely,

Y. RABIN,
Lieutenant General, Resident Ambassador.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding paragraph 5 of rule VII, a message from the President of the German Bundestag to Vice President Agnew, expressing condolences of the German Bundestag with regard to the passing of the late Richard Russell of Georgia be received and printed in the Record.

Mr. SPIRO AGNEW,
Vice President of the U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.:

On the death of the Senator from Georgia, Richard B. Russell, I extend to you and the Senate the sincere condolences of the German Bundestag. Senator Russell will remain, far beyond the borders of the United States, an example of the fact that a sincere and independent member of a parliamentary body not only earns praise for his responsible work from his friends but also wins the respect of his opponents.

KAI-UWE VON HASSEL,
President of the German Bundestag.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding paragraph 5 of rule VII, that a letter from the Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Washington, D.C., expressing condolences with regard to the recent passing of the late Senator Richard B. Russell, be received and be printed in the Record.

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
Washington, D.C., January 23, 1971.

THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Executive Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: It is with great sadness that I transmit to you the following cable message from His Excellency Park Chung Hee, President of the Republic of Korea.

"I have learned with deep sorrow the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell and would like to extend my deepest sympathy to you, your colleagues and your people on the loss of this great statesman.

PARK CHUNG HEE,
President of the Republic of Korea."

And, may I join His Excellency in conveying my sincere sympathy to you in the loss of a great official and citizen.

Very truly yours,

HO EUL WHANG,
Minister, Charge d'Affaires a.i.

Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, one of the most perceptive journalists on the Washington scene is Mrs. Virginia Weldon Kelly, who had many opportunities to witness the great contributions which our departed colleague, Senator Richard Brevard Russell, made to our country.

On January 29, 1971, the Independent and Press-Telegram of Long Beach, Calif., published in their columns Mrs. Kelly's appraisal of Senator Russell as an individual and as a national legislator. Her appraisal of this great Georgian and American merits the widest possible dissemination. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent and Press-Telegram, Jan. 29, 1971]

OF RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

(By Virginia Weldon Kelly)

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Georgia," is his complete biography in the Congressional Directory. He was a modest, reserved man who detested self-aggrandisement.

When he died a few days ago, the Senate asked President Nixon to defer his State of the Union address for a period of Senate mourning. The President declined. But at the Joint Session of Congress he paid Senator Russell a tribute.

He said that when he visited the Senator recently at Walter Reed Hospital, Mr. Russell did not refer to his condition, but made a plea for a strong national defense. This was characteristic of the Senator's unselfishness.

For many years, he smoked three packs of cigarettes a day. In 1957, doctors said he had emphysema. At the same time, a brother who was a heavy smoker developed lung cancer. Senator Russell never smoked again, but he went downhill in health.

It is not true that he died a lonely and bitter man (as a Washington newspaper alleged) because he did not become President. Senator Russell never married because he had a tragic love affair in his youth. But he was an admirer and beau of lovely women at home and abroad.

He was one of the thirteen children of the chief justice of Georgia's Supreme Court and Mrs. Richard B. Russell, senior.

Devoted to his mother, he made a home for her throughout her long life. After her death, he had a bench placed by her grave in the family cemetery so that he could rest in the twilight to meditate and pray.

A deeply but quietly religious man, he was reared to read the Bible daily. He helped rear, educate, and counsel his many nieces and nephews, and their children, who were as close to him as if they had been his own. He suffered anguish when a nephew was critically wounded in Vietnam.

He knew no southerner could be nominated or elected President in 1952 when he briefly sought the nomination. He campaigned only a few days, and had no organization and little campaign money. But at the Democratic National Convention, he received 294 votes before Gov. Adlai Stevenson was nominated.

President Truman said, as did many other Democratic leaders, that Dick Russell could have been President if he had not been a southerner.

Senator Russell and Governor Stevenson were distant cousins. Early in the campaign, Russell visited Stevenson in Illinois but they could not agree on important matters.

In the Eisenhower Administration, Senator Russell warned the President, Secretary of State Dulles, and Assistant State Secretary Thruston B. Morton that it would be catastrophic to send arms and technicians to Vietnam. He told succeeding Presidents that involvement in a ground war in Asia was nationally suicidal. But he loyally supported each President when the nation was committed.

Senator Russell was the close friend of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his successors. But a coolness developed between the Senator and Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson because Russell deplored some of their policies. This was especially painful vis-a-vis Mr. Johnson because Mr. Russell exerted his influence to make Johnson Senate majority leader—the big step toward the presidency.

Senator Russell always said he was a fiscal liberal in a depression, but a conservative in good times.

Frugal and above reproach in private and public life, he never even accepted fees or expenses for making speeches.

After he refused to serve on the Warren Commission, the senator was amazed when President Johnson publicly announced that Russell would serve. He did so, but was dissatisfied with the evidence presented and other aspects of the investigation of President Kennedy's assassination.

He was active in legislation which provided rural electrification, home and farm loans which helped millions of poor whites and blacks.

He led the southern bloc against civil rights legislation, but he knew it would come.

Roy Wilkins and other black leaders praised Senator Russell for his leadership in areas other than civil rights.

He supported intervention in Korea, and he advised President Kennedy to take a strong position in the 1962 Russian missile crisis in Cuba.

Senator Russell considered that the Bay of Pigs fiasco and failure to overthrow Castro contributed toward the Vietnam war.

An intellectual, avid reader of history, he was a renowned constitutional lawyer, a formidable parliamentarian and debater.

Until his illness, he was a skilled woodsman, angler, and hunter; and a baseball and football enthusiast.

Hon. Edmund S. Muskie

OF MAINE

Mr. President, Richard B. Russell was a man for trusting. He was courteous. He was considerate. He expected the best from his colleagues and he gave the best of himself. But above all, he was a man we could trust.

We knew he listened to us, considered our views, and responded honestly with intelligence and wisdom. He earned the confidence and affection of his colleagues, and spanned the dif-

ferences of age, region, and political philosophy. His character won friends. It won respect. It won influence, and it earned good will and understanding for Georgia and the South.

Senator Russell's presence reminded two generations of Senators that the confrontation of ideas need not fuel ill-will. He demonstrated that honorable men can hold honest disagreement without questioning the motives and integrity of another.

These are the qualities that make cooperation and progress possible in a free society. These are the qualities which made Richard B. Russell a great American and great Senator.

In common with so many of my colleagues, I recall my personal relations with Senator Russell. He was unfailingly kind, courteous, and understanding. I shall miss him as a friend and remember my associations with him as one of the privileges and highlights of my Senate career.

Hon. Barry Goldwater
OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, very few times in the course of a man's journey through life does he have the opportunity of living with greatness and nobility. This rare experience has been mine in the friendship I have always borne for the late Richard Russell, a friendship which I have proudly considered to be mutual.

I had not been in the Senate more than 3 days before Senator Russell approached me and asked me what he could do to help me get started, and he reminded me of his long friendship with my friend and colleague, Carl Hayden.

Later it was my pleasure to serve with Dick on the Armed Services Committee and there I really had the opportunity to learn and know this great man. There is nothing that I can possibly say that could add to the eulogies already given him, but I would like his family and his friends wherever they may be to know that I consider him to be one of the greatest Americans we have ever produced, whose influences on the legislative processes of our Nation have probably been greater than any other man, and his example of honesty and courage, knowledge, and nobility have been an inspiration to everyone who has come in contact with him, particularly the junior Senator from Arizona.

Hon. George McGovern
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I rise to add my voice to the great and deserved tributes to the late Senator Richard Russell. Senator Russell graced this Chamber with a sense of personal honor and a parliamentary ability which are unlikely to be surpassed. Great leadership is always unique. The qualities of this man marked him as an aristocrat of the Senate.

He was dean of the Senate as much for his quality of character and mind, as for his long experience and leadership through many trying days of the life of the Republic. His friendships were always marked by the deepest bond of faith. As parliamentary adversary, the strength generated by his ability was of profound proportions.

In the life of the Senate there has seldom, if ever, been a Senator of his parliamentary talent. Richard Russell's memory will endure not only among those who knew him, but is enshrined in the very process of our democracy.

Hon. Wallace F. Bennett
OF UTAH

Mr. President, Richard Russell of Georgia has been variously described as "a giant of a man" as "a Senator's Senator" as "an outstanding American." I would like to add one more personal word to the many eulogies that he so richly deserves—that word is "friend."

Richard Russell was, of course, in the Senate and one of the greats in this body when I arrived here 20 years ago. His counsel, his patience, and his almost instant grasp of complex problems made him "friend" to every man who crossed his path, not only in the Senate but throughout the country.

I am sure that those from his beloved Georgia will miss him greatly, but those of us from outside his own State also share the sorrow of his passing. This was truly a "giant of a man" who came our way and in his own quiet way perhaps one of the most effective of Senators.

I once heard his predecessor on the Appropriations Committee, Senator Carl Hayden, describe two different kinds of Senators in this body. These were "workhorses" and "showhorses." Richard Russell, in the great tradition of outstanding Americans was truly one of the "workhorses" who believed in a strong America, who believed in the Senate and who believed in the system. All of us will miss him greatly and I am pleased today to join his many colleagues in paying tribute to a truly great Senator, a great American and a "friend."

Hon. Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, I wish to join Senators in mourning the passing of a great American, the President pro tempore of the Senate, Richard Brevard Russell. During his 38 years of service in the Senate, the distinguished gentleman from Georgia established a reputation as a parliamentarian and a debater excelled by few others in the history of the Senate.

He was the consummate politician, painstaking and thorough in his preparation, and highly skilled in the use of power.

If a man's efforts are the measure of his dedication and a man's accomplishments the hallmark of his success, then Richard Russell could be extremely proud of his record in the Senate. No man in recent memory has made a more complete dedication of his life to this body, and few men have been able to so effectively serve the principles and ideals to which they subscribed. Those causes, which he so ably defended for so many years, have lost a gallant champion.

Hon. Clinton P. Anderson

OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, if ever a man epitomized the finest traditions of the U.S. Senate, it was Richard B. Russell. It is our great loss that Senator Russell is no longer with us, but his accomplishments and his manner of conducting himself—always correct and fair and courteous, even courtly—shall remain a part of this Chamber for years to come.

He came here as a young man decades ago, learned quickly and worked hard, and worked himself into a position of preeminent authority and prestige. For years, he was a major national spokesman on security and defense matters as chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. Later, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, he watched over the Federal budget with an alertness that pleased every taxpayer. And, of course, he served as the Senate's distinguished President pro tempore.

Senator Russell did not attain such power and prestige merely by seniority, although his regular reelection with great majorities illustrated his great political popularity and success. Richard Russell was not content to sit passively and allow power to accrue to him by the passage of years. Instead, he acted vigorously to put into effect programs and policies he originated or supported, and to stymie those he opposed. That great vigor and stamina, combined with shrewdness and sagacity which confounded and amazed all of us much of the time, meant he was a man to be reckoned with on all great issues to come before this Chamber.

Senator Russell understood the Senate and its folkways of power because he worked at it, because he took nothing for granted, and because he possessed a formidable intelligence. He was able to accomplish so much and to command such respect because he always treated his colleagues with courtesy and decency, even if they were the newest of Members and even if they opposed him on the issues.

We were good friends through the years, even though we often were on opposite sides politically. He will be missed and he will be remembered.

Hon. Roman L. Hruska

OF NEBRASKA

Mr. President, the Nation will long grieve the loss of the great Senator from Georgia, Richard Brevard Russell. His unfortunate death has removed not only a good and true friend but also an inspirational and dedicated leader whose equal will not soon be seen again in this body.

He gave to the Nation 38 years of devoted and exemplary service. Throughout that time his performance measured up to the highest ideals of the U.S. Senate, in the finest tradition of Web-

ster, Clay, and Calhoun. He brought to the body thinking that was ahead of his time.

It is noteworthy that well over half of Dick Russell's life was spent in this body. The only man who served longer was Senator Carl Hayden.

Senator Russell's remarkable record of tenure provides ample evidence of his character as seen by those who know him best—the residents of his beloved native State of Georgia. In all his election campaigns, he had only one serious challenge.

Sometimes in its enthusiasm for its subject, the press understandably falls victim to exaggeration. But its erstwhile description of Senator Russell as the most powerful man in the Senate was never an understatement. None of us who knew him and worked with him would question his dominance.

What might not have been generally understood by the public which did not know him personally, however, was the reason for his power in this body. They did not have the good fortune of enjoying his charity and compassion, his sincerity and willingness to accept responsibility, and the deep personal sense of honor which guided all his actions.

Dick Russell's courtly manner and his straightforward approach to all his dealings were more than tools of the trade which helped him to rise rapidly to a position of leadership. They were such ingrained qualities of the man that any other type of behavior for him would have been impossible.

He was a statesman in the truest sense of the word. He was a man born to serve his people. His record of public service is one of the most remarkable and inspiring in our Nation's history.

He paid a fierce allegiance to the Senate as an institution and the necessity for it to function by rule and precedent. He knew so well that departure from those rules and precedents would erode and destroy the usefulness and high position of the body.

Elected to the Georgia House of Representatives 1 year after his graduation from law school, he became speaker of the house 6 years later. In another 4 years, he became the youngest Governor in the history of the State. Then he came to the U.S. Senate, for which he had been destined.

The omnipotent Creator who has watched over the Nation throughout its history has seen fit to give each generation a cadre of dedicated and inspired leaders, to guide our destiny and to protect us from evil. Richard Russell served that role for the past 38 years. He will be sorely missed, but his memory will be cherished by generations to come as one of the men who has led the country on its path of glory.

Hon. Stuart Symington

OF MISSOURI

Mr. President, Woodrow Wilson once said:

> There is no question what the role of honor in America is. The role of honor consists of the names of men who have squared their conduct by ideals of duty.

Such a man was Richard Brevard Russell, Governor of, and then Senator from, the State of Georgia, President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate, and chairman, successively, of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Very early in life Dick Russell must have "squared his conduct by ideals of duty," for he was a gentleman in the finest sense of the word, one with ingrained integrity and a deep devotion to those principles which he believed best for the people of his country and his State. In the annals of our land, his name will stand forth always among those most deserving of a place on that roll of honor.

In many ways Senator Russell was almost unique. He combined the simple dignity and forthrightness of the common man with an amazing memory and an analytical power which gave his judgments a profundity envied by his peers. He had an unerring and seemingly instinctive ability to probe to the heart a subject, to elevate its merits, and to reject what was fallacious or superfluous. He possessed a vast storehouse of knowledge, a richness of experience, and a breadth of vision that made his advice sought and cherished by all those who knew him.

In the area of national defense he was preeminent, quick to first discern the needs of the United States, then to act upon those requirements with vigor and determination.

It was back in 1946 when, as Assistant Secretary of War, I first became acquainted with Dick Russell, who in due course would succeed Senator Millard Tydings as chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Those were times of sharp

controversy, heated opinions, and brittle tempers, but I found him to be amiable, perceptive, and invariably objective.

In the years that followed, I came to know him well, and learned to cherish, as I do today, the bonds of friendship which grew between us.

Knowledge does not always breed greater respect, but with Dick Russell, to know him well was to enjoy a rare privilege given to relatively few men. My association with him after I became a Senator is filled with treasured memories of pleasant camaraderie, serious discussion, and wise counsel. We were not always on the same side of every issue, but I always respected and appreciated his point of view. He never espoused a cause because it was popular and he never ducked an issue because it was not.

I was on a vacation trip with him in Florida when he first received the news that President Truman had relieved General MacArthur; and the way he handled the subsequent hearings is a proud page in American history and a noble memorial to him.

Just as I feel singularly fortunate in having known Dick Russell, so, too, do I know that our country was graced in having the benefits of his leadership during the 38 years in which he served in the U.S. Senate. His rare qualities as he dealt with so many of the critical problems of those turbulent years have been of inestimable value to the security and progress of our country.

We all do and shall miss Dick Russell, but his memory provides us all, in the Senate and elsewhere, with a desire to accomplish our own missions with integrity and devotion to the public welfare.

Hon. Margaret Chase Smith

OF MAINE

Mr. President, a touching and significant tribute to the life and career of our late beloved colleague, the Honorable Richard Brevard Russell, is contained in an editorial published in the current issue of the Officer magazine.

The author is Col. John T. Carlton, the executive director of the Reserve Officers Association, who is known to many of us in this body and who was a lifelong neighbor and personal friend of Senator Russell.

I know that Members of Congress will be interested in adding to their memories of Senator Russell the thoughts contained in the editorial. They are richly merited by the great American who was the President pro tempore of the Senate, and whose work has been so important to the life of this country during the past 40 years.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

[From the magazine Officer, February 1971]

He Was That Sort of Patriot

"If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch . . ."

The kind and unkind things that have been said about Richard Brevard Russell in his lifetime, and upon his death, have not touched the outstanding characteristic of a national leader, who made history but who above all else, gave a lasting humaness to public service known only to those closest to him.

Dick Russell was never known to turn his back on an old friend. In his personal relationships, he was compassionate, understanding, and helpful; he was ruthless only in pursuing an ideal and in that context the word begs appropriateness.

It was a cruel fate which took from the United States its two great champions of preparedness, Mendal Rivers and Richard Russell, within a month of each other. They were a team which helped keep their nation great and strong, and they represented a team which may have saved America more than once.

A Rivers friend, remarking on the tribute paid Rivers by Russell from his hospital, and commenting upon the Senator's observation that not until the next generation would the nation feel the loss of Rivers, told us that the Congressman looked with affection and reverence to his older colleague.

"He worshipped Russell, and tried to follow everything he said," was the way he put it.

That euphemistic tribute, like all euphemisms, is hyperbole; it was Rivers' way with men, and it was the perception of Russell that enabled him to accept sincere flattery, live with it, and turn it to agreement. Russell did as much to accept Rivers' views as Rivers did to accept Russell's convictions; but the two worked together in harmony and effectiveness.

It was our privilege to be one of the thousands who followed Russell, and among the few who worked with or for him from time to time, and who cherished a confidant's relationship with him. Russell almost made World War I, completing the student officer training courses at the University of Georgia, but seeing the Armistice come before he had more than preparatory duty. We once dug up the fact that he had been commissioned but he always asserted he never got beyond Seaman First Class. He was a progressive member of the Georgia House at 21, and then Speaker within a few years. In our latter college days, he ran successfully for Governor; one of our college mates was his principal as-

sistant when he put through reforms, particularly in the University System, which were considered forward-looking and skillfully achieved, a system in effect in virtually all state systems throughout the nation today.

He won an uphill fight for the Senate, and as a young reporter, I was one of those who "covered" his career, some years later taking on this job in Washington.

Russell was a human person who derived pleasure from helping others, who had a prodigious memory, and drew satisfaction from the mammoth achievements which were his. Much has been written about the defense establishments he obtained for Georgia; the fact is that things just don't happen that way often in Washington, and it was the Southern climate, and the other attractions more than the importunities of Russell which sprinkled training group camps and depots throughout the state as well as other places in the South. When he worked for a client, he did so on issues in which he knew there was also right.

There were many areas where Senator Russell served the national good which were not publicized. While he was a master in his relations with the Press and understood the twist of a good publicity story, he also knew that many stories were fluff and he disdained the mere goal of getting his name in the papers. He was masterful in dealing with his colleagues; skillful in parliamentary debate and an authority on the Constitution because he was a student of history, and the texts which came out of the national experience. He often said he recognized the need for social reform, but he believed the benefits would be long range only if contained within the bounds of the Constitution; he was a purist where the principal of equal rights was related to national or personal issues, and he was dedicated to disdain of the appearance of any class system.

This characteristic which marked him for greatness more than any other, however, was his humility, and the warmness of his personality. He was devoted to his family and to his friends; he would have been a father whose children would have worshipped him: he missed marriage, however, and his affection and naturally deep warmth of his nature were lavished on his sisters and brothers and his nieces and nephews, and the children and grandchildren of his family friends, his associates, and all whose privilege it was to know him with any degree of intimacy.

Our relationship with him in ROA was neither parochial nor related to any interest. He dealt with us on any issue however small, and the decisions as to the weight of his influence always were sought and obtained only when he could be convinced of the right of an issue. He sought information from any source, and confided in those whose confidence could be trusted. We cherish and preserve the knowledge that in many areas we shared that confidence, and we would not violate it. If in ROA, we perpetuate the memory of Senator Russell in any sort of tribute because of what he did to advance our objective, we must keep in mind that he did so because he was convinced that it is a monument to the safety and security of the United States of America. Richard B. Russell was that sort of a Patriot.

HALL OF FAME PLAQUE PLANNED AS TRIBUTE TO SENATOR RUSSELL

ROA will include in the memorialization program in its National Headquarters building a perpetual tribute to the career of Senator Richard B. Russell for many years the nation's champion of preparedness, who died recently after serving 38 years in the U.S. Senate.

Senator Russell was one of the fourteen who had been given ROA's annual Minute Man award as "The citizen who has contributed most to National Security."

The award was made at the annual Mid-Winter banquet in 1958 when in response he made a ringing speech in exalting the citizen-reservist tradition.

An appropriate plaque dedicated to Senator Russell will be included in the Congressional Hall of Honor, the Fifth Floor of the Minute Man Memorial Building.

A similar tribute also will be placed there honoring the memory of the late Congressman L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who was the ROA Minute Man of the Year in 1965.

Hon. Gaylord Nelson

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President, with the rest of the U.S. Senate, I would like to give tribute to the late Senator Russell. For 38 years, he dedicated himself to the Senate, gaining the respect of all who have served here and contributing greatly and lastingly to the character of this institution.

Honor, ability, and integrity were the hallmarks of Senator Russell's long career here. And with his unsurpassed knowledge and understanding of the Senate and its rules, he was a commanding figure in the Senate throughout his long career.

A man of enormous persuasiveness and influence, Senator Russell served as chairman of the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Appropriations with great decorum and effectiveness for many years.

In his State and his Nation and among his colleagues, his memory will long endure.

Hon. Edward M. Kennedy

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. President, all of us in the Senate feel a great sense of sadness at the passing of our colleague, Senator Richard Brevard Russell, of Georgia. Although we often faced the issues with profound differences of opinion, his death represents, to me, not only the loss of one of the most

able men ever to grace the Senate, but also a long time friend, admired associate, and learned tutor.

In 1962, when I first came to the Senate, President Kennedy told me that my "first order of business" as a Senator should be to "speak with Dick Russell." That first hour Senator Russell and I spent together marked the beginning of a strong association of respect and admiration.

Senator Russell struggled long hours, working with total dedication, for the things in which he believed. Through his efforts, we now have school lunch programs, aid to farmers, assistance for the hungry, and funding for better education and highway construction.

He was a brilliant defender of the Nation's servicemen and its superb military strength. Because of his abiding concern for a strong America in the free world, he helped to equip every soldier with the best material, strategic knewledge, and skill the world has ever known.

Although he took a firm position on our defense and national security, he was always aware of the danger of over-commitment in Southeast Asia. As early as 1954, he warned the country that he was weary of "seeing American soldiers being used as gladiators to be thrown into every arena around the world." He also warned that our commitment would be a "long, drawn-out affair, costly in both blood and treasure."

Senator Russell has been well-described as a Georgia Giant, a Senator's Senator. No one rivalled him in legislative skill and ability, or in knowledge and mastery of the rules. He was kind, he was dedicated, he was earnest, he was the Senate's mentor and friend.

Richard Russell gave half his lifetime—four decades—to every aspect of the Senate and its functioning. He served the Nation well, dedicating his most strenuous efforts to Congress, to each of us individually as Senators, and to his grateful State and Nation. We admired him for his brilliance, we loved him for his warm humanity and we shall miss him in the Senate.

Hon. Marlow W. Cook

OF KENTUCKY

Mr. President, the Nation, the Senate, and every person who knew Richard Brevard Russell has felt a great loss since his unfortunate passing. He unselfishly contributed 38 years of service, motivated only by love of his country and devotion to its principles.

Richard Russell's career in government began 1 year after his graduation from law school, when he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives at the age of 22. Six years later he became house speaker and served in that capacity until 1930, when he became the youngest Governor of the State of Georgia. In 1933 he came to the U.S. Senate, where he served in its greatest tradition until his unfortunate death.

Dick Russell's character and personality, coupled with his early experience in government, allowed him to develop those qualities which elevated him to the leadership position which he held in the Senate. His forthrightness, honesty, and dignity were admired by all of his colleagues. He was above petty politics: he was a statesman. He strongly believed in the American governmental system and its institutions, and he was always the first to defend its traditions and precedents.

Richard Russell was a man driven by charity, compassion, and an outright love for people. He was one of those few men who seemed to have been destined for a life of public service. Indeed, it would have been difficult to imagine Dick Russell in any other field of endeavor. The Nation, the Congress, and the American people, while mourning his death, should be eternally grateful that Richard Russell lived, and that he dedicated his life to his country.

Hon. Carl T. Curtis

OF NEBRASKA

Mr. President, political trends come and go. That which is popular today may be forgotten tomorrow. Often the headlines of yesteryear prove to be of little importance. There are some things that abide.

In the field of politics and government, when I think of those things that really abide, I think of a man like the late Richard B. Russell. First of all, he was a patriot. Senator Russell loved his country and he was concerned about its survival. He cast his vote in the U.S. Senate for those things that would make our Nation strong financially, morally, industrially, and militarily. Senator Russell realized that our generation was

blessed with a great country, and he wanted to hand it on to future generations as a strong and great country.

In the competitive field of politics and government, agreement is not always possible or desirable. By the very nature of free government, there is bound to be disagreement upon issues. It is through disagreement and debate that public issues are fully explored. It is through disagreement and debate that the wheat is separated from the chaff. It is folly, therefore, for one to strive to have all men agree with him or try to agree with all men. The wise course is to strive for the respect of all men.

It can be said of Senator Richard B. Russell that while many of his colleagues agreed with him on most, or perhaps all, issues, many may have disagreed with him on some very important issues. The fact remains that every other Member of the Senate respected Senator Richard B. Russell. This is one of the finest compliments that can be paid to any man in public life.

For a long time, the historians of our country, and particularly the historians of the State of Georgia that Senator Russell loved, will be writing volumes about the long and distinguished career of our departed friend, Richard B. Russell. At this brief time, I cannot add to the account of the life and works of this great man. Rather, I can merely raise my voice in respect for one of the great U.S. Senators of all time.

Hon. Lloyd M. Bentsen
OF TEXAS

Mr. President, it has been said of Richard B. Russell that the accident of his birth in the South prevented him from becoming President of the United States. That may or may not be true, but one absolute truth is that Senator Russell's enormous influence on Presidents had lasting influence on this country's policies and our future.

No one man in recent history had the respect of his colleagues, the confidence of Presidents of both parties and the prestige of the performance of Dick Russell.

Dick Russell was a man of the South, but more than that, he was a man of the country, a man totally dedicated to his country, a man for his country and a man beloved by all who love their country.

His wisdom was universally recognized. His understanding of human strengths and human frailties was unparalled. His convictions were strong and his power was wisely used.

I am very proud to have known Dick Russell as a friend. I knew him from my days as a Representative, and serving in the U.S. Senate with this great and good man was one of my strong anticipations. That death claimed him before that joint service was barely realized is one of my sadder experiences.

The loss of Dick Russell to the Senate and to the United States is keenly felt. The loss of a friend is just as keenly felt. His memorial will be his uncounted contributions to this Nation.

Hon. David H. Gambrell
OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, it would seem only fitting that remarks on my behalf be included among those offered on the floor of the U.S. Senate in memory of the late Richard B. Russell, of Georgia.

At the same time, I feel inadequate to the task. The expressions of respect, admiration, affection, and outright love, offered by his former colleagues in this body, have done homage to Senator Russell in a manner to which I do not feel equal. Yet I doubt that any of those who have previously spoken have any greater assurance within themselves than do I of the esteem in which this great man is held.

The facets of my relationship with Senator Russell and his family are too numerous and too personal to dwell upon at length. It is sufficient at this time to say that they commenced when I was a very small boy and he was the Governor of Georgia. They continued through the circumstances in which he had a large part in my becoming acquainted with the girl whom I later married. And now they have brought me here to Washington to occupy the vacancy created by his passing.

Among the people of my State, there are thousands upon thousands of citizens who could relate similar stories of ways in which Senator Russell touched their lives during the course of his 50 years of public service. Many who never had the occasion to meet him felt him to be a warm personal friend, because on some occasion he had taken the time, in spite of his position

of importance, to respond to a visit, call, or letter in a direct and personal way. After all those years, he remained simply as "Dick Russell" to Georgia citizens.

And this was in spite of the fact that they recognized his position as a man of respect in the highest councils of national and world affairs. They knew him to be a mentor and confidant of Presidents, and one who walked easily with captains and kings. But they also knew that his proudest achievement was the establishment of the school lunch program for needy children during his early years as a Senator.

They knew him to be a public servant who placed nothing before the interests of the people of his State.

They had confidence in him because of the monumental quality of his character. In an era when there is much cynicism about the character of public figures, never was there any doubt as to that of Senator Russell. No one questioned his motives, nor doubted the sincerity of his convictions.

Mr. President, a great man has passed through these Halls and now abides with his trusted Maker. No one will replace him, and it may be many years before another like him comes this way again.

As the era of Richard B. Russell passes from the scene, let us take inspiration from the life and character of this distinguished American in establishing goals for ourselves in years to come.

Hon. Lawton M. Chiles, Jr.
OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, I did not know Senator Richard Russell. I met and visited briefly with him in the company of my predecessor, Senator Spessard Holland. I shall always cherish being able to attend the funeral services in his hometown of Winder, Ga., at a time when bad weather unfortunately made it impossible for most of his colleagues to be there. I had the privilege of meeting members of his family at the time. But I did not know him.

One of the deepest regrets of my life is missing the opportunity of being associated with Senator Russell and learning from the bottomless well of knowledge that was his. He was indeed a statesman, and his loss will long be felt by this country and by the Senate which he so loved. He was a giant of a man in principle, in dedication and in performance that stood as an example to newcomers to the Senate for many years, and this I will sorely miss.

It is my understanding that Senator Russell was in the U.S. Senate for more than half of his life, 38 out of 73 years. It is my understanding that he never took a wife; that his marriage was to the Senate. It is my understanding that there was no harder-working man in the Senate. And it is my understanding that while his seniority, his unlimited ability and knowledge, and his dedicated effort gave him enormous power, he was noted for never taking advantage of that power. No greater tribute can man receive.

The State of Georgia has certainly produced many great men, many great Senators. It will undoubtedly continue to do so, but none will replace Richard B. Russell. They may follow in his footsteps, but they cannot take his place.

He left his mark. I am happy to add my respect and devotion to that of all America.

Hon. John V. Tunney
OF CALIFORNIA

It has been said that one who is a politician in life can become a statesman only in death. This analogy must be disregarded when thinking of the late Senator Richard Russell, of Georgia. For the last 38 years Richard Russell was the statesman of the Senate. Though I did not have the opportunity to sit with Richard Russell on the floor of the Senate, I have benefited from his inspiring leadership, unquestioned honesty, and sense of purpose. His ability as a legislator made him the supreme master of Senate rules, both written and unwritten.

The history of the Senate contains the names of many great Members, and surely Richard Russell's will be added to it. The journals of this body have recorded many occasions when Richard Russell rose to lend his support to causes which many felt to be hopeless and unpopular. Yet, he was always respected and always listened to with the knowledge that what he said was thoughtful and sincere. When he spoke it was with a voice of authority, careful to preserve the standards of the Senate, but unafraid and always articulate in defense of his convictions.

Richard Russell's service on the Armed Services, Appropriations, Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and Joint Atomic Energy Committees will be sorely missed. His expertise in military and economic affairs made him one of this body's acknowledeged leaders. The Senate looked to him for guidance in a host of matters; in peace and war, prosperity and depression. The Presidents with whom he served, from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon, looked to him for constructive criticism and needed support.

Though Richard Russell's style was low keyed, his actions produced an undercurrent throughout the Senate, the federal system, and the entire Nation that will long be felt.

History will be his final judge. However, I believe he secured a high mark in life that cannot be undone by the ages. The spirit of Richard Russell shadows over each of us, guiding our thoughts and tempering our actions.

Hon. Alan Cranston

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, Richard Brevard Russell, striding tall and purposefully, with an air of utter confidence and commitment, across the Senate floor.

That is as I first saw him, as I sat in the Senate gallery in 1939—that is my first memory of this great Senator.

A little while later, I came to know him and to see and sense his deep understanding of the uses of Senate power when representing on Capitol Hill an organization seeking fair play for immigrants and the foreign born in our country, I dealt with him in his capacity as chairman of what was in those days the Senate Immigration Committee.

One day, it was discovered that unless a bill was introduced and passed by the Senate and House and signed by the President within 48 hours, thousands of naturalized Americans, most of them Jewish, trapped by the outbreak of World War II in Europe and the Near East, would lose their American citizenship.

I knew that only with the help of Richard Russell could I get that bill that far that fast. To my dismay, I discovered that he was ill, lying in a hospital in Atlanta.

I got through to him on the telephone, explained the situation to him, and at once caught his attention, aroused his sympathy, enlisted his support. Under his long-distance guidance, the bill was introduced, enacted, and signed in those 48 hours.

This constitutes one little glimpse of one of the vast number of unknown, never to be fully recorded deeds of Richard Russell that meant so very much to so very many.

Richard Russell was tremendously helpful to me personally, as he was over the years to so many other Senators, in the time—unhappily so brief—that it was my privilege to serve with him in the Senate.

He was of incalculable assistance on committee assignments, on the uses of the Senate rules at vital moments, and in general guidance regarding the myriad and wondrous ways the Senate works.

I prize, too, the opportunity I shared with others to listen to and join in talks with the Senator in the Senators' dining room as he sat in his traditional seat at the head of the Democratic table. I shall never forget his reminiscences of great hours in the Senate—like the historic part he played after Korea in cooling off the MacArthur controversy; and his memories of moments in his own rich life—like the first time, when a child, that he ever saw a real live Republican, and peeked at him in astonishment through a mail slot in the Winder Post Office.

I only wish that all Americans could have seen and known Richard Brevard Russell as did those who served with him in the Senate, and as did those who grew up with him and lived with him in his days and years down in Georgia.

Hon. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, it has often been said that the proper study of mankind is man. If this be true, it follows that the proper study of nobility and honor is a noble and honorable man. In this quest the United States Senate has been privileged by the opportunity over 38 years to study, admire, and emulate such a man. No Member of this body in good conscience could have been unmoved by this experience, for this man's char-

acter transcended ordinary boundaries. It rose above the political and philosophical delineations which distinguish the ordinary Member from his colleagues. And it went beyond the warmth and charm of his personality. Above all it resided in the high spheres of a standard of conduct which broached no deceit, allowed no pretension, and shirked no duty. It was a testimony to this man's integrity and humility that he said:

> When the time comes for me to go out of this chamber . . . I hope it will at least be possible to say of me that I was an honorable man. I do not know of anything that might be said that would better please me.

There never has been, and there never will be, any doubt of this man's honor. It has been rightfully asserted that he was a master legislator, that he might have been President if he had come from another region of the country, and that he was a giant among giants. Never to be forgotten, however, is that he was a man like other men; but he was a man who taught us, by example, that a capability for greatness lay within each one of us—regardless of our varying talents and intellects. He taught us that nobility of the soul and spirit is achievable.

Like all good teachers he was fair and perceptive. At a time when the Nation was unsteady in its allegiance to an unpopular President and a popular general he was the paragon of impartiality and firmness. At another time his beloved South was deeply injured by the final passage of legislation which he had long and vehemently opposed. But it was law, and he counseled restraint and obedience. It was his duty to do so.

He left behind him a tradition, a legacy, and a concept that will never be outdated and that will influence every man who follows him into this Hall. Politics and parties are transitory things, mutable and compromising by nature. High character, however, practiced day after day, month after month, year after year—always in the most trying and tempting circumstances—is not so easily dismissed or ignored. His presence will always be felt and his political heirs will be sobered and humbled by his memory. If we who follow him are able to continue to strive for honor and nobility in our actions and words, it will be due in no small measure to Richard Brevard Russell, of Winder, Ga.

Hon. James L. Buckley
OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, I never had the privilege of meeting the late senior Senator from Georgia, Richard B. Russell, but I am honored to have served in the same Congress with him—if only for a few days. Senator Russell was one of the great men of the Senate, not because of his 38 years of service in the U.S. Senate, but because of qualities which characterized his tenure. He brought to this body a high sense of public duty, a capacity for self-sacrifice and an earnest dedication which earned him the great respect of all of his colleagues.

Senator Russell's high sense of duty was illustrated in early 1969, when he learned of an inoperable tumor in his left lung. Senator Russell summoned Washington correspondents for Atlanta newspapers, and he calmly annouced the doctor's finding. He described this announcement as an act of faith with his constituents.

During his five decades in public life, Senator Russell displayed both prudence and patience. He once said:

> When I am in doubt about a question, I always vote "No." I think that is the only safe plan to follow. If you are in doubt and vote "Yes," you have to take responsibility for what is done. If you are in doubt and vote "No," you get another look at it somewhere further down the line.

In all of the tributes to Senator Russell, there is a constant recognition of the deep sense of honor which guided his actions in the Senate, and the abiding integrity which characterized his relationship with others. Senator Russell was justifiably proud of his personal sense of honor, and when it was questioned once on the Senate floor, Senator Russell declared:

> When the time comes for me to go out of this Chamber, whether I go voluntarily, whether my commission is revoked by the electorate of Georgia, or whether I am carried out in a box, I hope it will at least be possible to say of me that I was an honorable man. I do not know of anything that might be said that would better please me.

Senator Russell exemplified the best in the Senate, and personified the tradition of reasonable and honest discourse among men in a free society.

Hon. Birch Bayh
OF INDIANA

Mr. President, it is difficult indeed to express in a few words what a man like our late colleague, the distinguished Richard Brevard Russell, of Georgia, meant to this body and this Nation.

The only man in history who literally spent more than half his lifetime as a Senator of the United States, he was truly the "dean of the Senate" in his later years. In an age when so many of us seem preoccupied with new ways of doing things, when the future seems constantly to be rushing upon us—and frequently overwhelming us—Senator Russell played an invaluable role of reminding his colleagues of their ties to the past and the important role traditional values could and should play in these modern times.

While "situational ethics" may have gained favor among some in the last half of the 20th century, such a concept was a contradiction in terms to our late distinguished colleague. Integrity was his byword, and few men in public life could claim to have lived and acted so true to this principle.

This is not to say Senator Russell was not a practical man. Chairman of two of the Senate's most important committees, he was for years our foremost authority on military matters. He believed firmly in a strong defense posture, warning that the United States should never become complacent toward potential enemies. Yet so far-seeing was he that long before most Americans recognized the dangers inherent in U.S. intervention in Indochina, he urged against such a policy.

Perhaps Senator Russell's most admirable quality, however, was his ability to combine practicality with integrity. As chairman of the Armed Services-Foreign Relations inquiry into the dismissal of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as U.S. commander in the Far East in 1951, Senator Russell well demonstrated that fairness and firmness are never inconsistent.

The Senate has lost a great man, an honorable man, in Richard Brevard Russell. No more fitting tribute to his memory could be paid than to dedicate ourselves in conducting this Chamber's business to the same unselfish devotion to duty, unquestioned integrity, fairness to all, thoughtful consideration of issues, and unswerving loyalty to country which so clearly marked his unparalleled career in public life.

Hon. Clifford P. Case
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, my association with Senator Russell was limited since I arrived in the Senate many years after he had become one of its most prominent Members. It was my privilege, however, to serve briefly on the Armed Services Committee when he was chairman. Even in the short period of my membership on the committee the attributes for which he was so well known were unmistakable—his southern courtesy, his parliamentary knowledge, and his skillful management of the committee and its work.

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge
OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, I bring to the attention of the Senate a resolution adopted by the Georgia State Society, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, at its 73d State Conference, on the passing of the late senior Senator from Georgia, Richard Brevard Russell. This is an outstanding statement that reflects the love and respect the people of Georgia had for the great Senator Russell.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

GEORGIA STATE SOCIETY, NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

HON. RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

Whereas: In the death of the Honorable Richard Brevard Russell, United States Senator from Georgia, we realize: that Georgia has lost her most distinguished son, one who served her for almost half a century with utter devotion to his every trust; that the Nation has lost a valued leader on whose sound judgment his colleagues and even Presidents leaned; that as Chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee of the Senate, the shadow of his influence was worldwide, through his effective advocacy of a strong military defense, and as Chairman of Appropriations Committee at the time of his passing his influence was all powerful—these were among his outstanding contributions: Therefore be it

Resolved: That the Georgia State Society NSDAR, honor the memory of Richard Brevard Russell for his sterling character, his moral integrity, and his elevated

patriotism; that we mourn the passing of this distinguished public servant; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this Resolution be sent with our sympathy and affection to the immediate members of his family all of whom he loved so deeply;

And be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Senate of the United States requesting that this Resolution be made a part of the Congressional Records.

Miss MARTHA ANN COOPER,
State Regent.

Mrs. T. K. KENDRICK,
Chairman.

Mr. President, there was brought to my attention a resolution adopted by the Georgia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution in honor of our late departed beloved colleague, Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

I bring this resolution to the attention of the Senate and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

(A resolution by the Georgia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution)

Now whereas, God, in His infinite wisdom and love, has called His faithful servant, Richard Brevard Russell, to his eternal reward, and

Whereas, Richard Brevard Russell did faithfully serve the State of Georgia in the capacity of member of the House of Representatives from 1921 to 1931, and as Speaker of the House from 1927 to 1931, and

Whereas, he did serve in the United States Senate from 1933 until his death, acting on many influential committees, and

Whereas, he did exhibit his patriotism and love for his country in his every action and ever sought to strengthen and protect this nation, and

Whereas, He did unselfishly lend his wisdom and concern to the programs and activities of this country, ever working for peace and harmony among his fellow citizens and the nations of the world, and

Whereas, his moderating counsel and sound advise were valued and respected by all, and

Whereas, he took boundless pride in the heritage that was his and in the contributions that his ancestors made in establishing this nation, and this pride was manifested in his continued membership in the Georgia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and

Whereas, his genuine concern and strong influence will be missed, not only by those who knew him and came in contact with him, but also by statesmen of all nations,

Therefore be it resolved by the Georgia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution that thanks be given for his intense patriotism and citizenship, and for the immeasurable service which he rendered to the State of Georgia, to the United States of America, and to the nations of the world.

And be it further resolved that this resolution be entered into the minutes of the Georgia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and that a copy be sent to the magazine of the Sons of the American Revolution for publication,

And be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the family of Compatriot Richard Brevard Russell with an expression of sympathy and gratitude for his life.

Mr. President, there has been brought to my attention a resolution by the Georgia School Food Service Association in tribute to the late Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia for his leading role in launching the original National School Lunch Act in 1946.

As we know, the national school lunch program has been of immeasurable benefit to untold millions of schoolchildren throughout all the country, and this is certainly well-deserved recognition of my late distinguished senior colleague who was instrumental in securing adoption of this legislation.

I bring the resolution to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

GEORGIA SCHOOL FOOD SERVICE ASSOCIATION

A resolution honoring the late Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia; and for other purposes.

Whereas, in 1946, Georgia's Senator Richard B. Russell was one of the sponsors of the original National School Lunch Act; and

Whereas, his leadership provided the instrument for the Georgia School Food Service Association to dedicate itself to securing adequate nutrition for Georgia school children, and

Whereas, the Georgia School Food Service Association is grateful that Senator Russell devoted his public life in Congress to the service of mankind, especially to children as evidenced by his efforts to provide necessary food and sustenance to our country's school children;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Georgia School Food Service Association does hereby express its appreciation of Senator Russell and his concern for the School Lunch Program; and

Be it further resolved, that the Georgia School Food Service Association submit a similar Resolution honoring the memory of Senator Russell to the American School Food Service Asociation; and

Be it further resolved, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to members of Senator Russell's family and to each United States Senator of the 92nd Congress; and

Be it finally resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to Senator Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, sponsor of an amendment of the National School Lunch Act, requesting that this resolution be read into the Congressional Record as a tribute to Senator Richard B. Russell from the Georgia School Food Service Association.

Memorial Tributes

IN THE

House of Representatives

IN EULOGY OF

Richard Brevard Russell

In the House of Representatives of the United States

JANUARY 22, 1971

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The Lord give thee understanding in all things.—II Timothy 2: 7.

Almighty God, we give Thee humble and hearty thanks for this good land we call the United States of America and for the glory of a people who live in liberty. Keep us ever mindful of the responsibilities which are ours and which we must accept if we are to continue to have a good land and to live as a free people. Grant that as we go forward we may ever be obedient to the leading of Thy holy spirit.

Bless Thou our President, our newly elected and beloved, Speaker, these Representatives of our people and all who work with them that they may be given wisdom to know Thy will, courage to do it, and strength to walk in Thy way that together we may make and keep our Nation great in goodness and good in greatness.

Comfort the family of our Senate colleague in their sorrow and receive him into Thy heavenly kingdom. We pray in the spirit of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Mr. Landrum. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness and deep regret that I announce to the House of Representatives the death yesterday at 2:20 p.m. of the senior Senator from the State of Georgia, the Honorable Richard Brevard Russell, Jr.

Mr. Speaker, the stature of this gentleman, the late distinguished public servant from Georgia, is of such nature that I know all the Members of this House who had the privilege of serving with him in the Congress and who knew him personally, will want to have a time when they may express officially their feelings about the late Senator.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, with this announcement, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next I be permitted to address the House for 1 hour at which time all Members, if they so desire, may join in this eulogy to the late Senator from Georgia.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. Landrum. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 10) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 10

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable Richard B. Russell, a Senator of the United States from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of seventeen Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The Speaker. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Landrum, Mr. Boggs, Mr. Gerald R. Ford, Mr. Flynt, Mr. Davis of Georgia, Mr. Hagan, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Brinkley, Mr. Stuckey, Mr. Thompson of Georgia, Mr. Mathis, Mr. Colmer, Mr. Hébert, Mr. Holifield, Mr. Sikes, and Mr. Price of Illinois.

Mr. Pepper. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and certainly Florida, in the passing of Senator Russell, have lost a great and good man, a patriot, and a man of profound love for his country, who towered in the councils of the Senate for many, many years.

Mrs. Pepper and I had a long and close friendship with Senator Russell and we are personally deeply saddened by his passing. Our hearts go out to his family in their great loss and to the people of Georgia who he served with such devotion for more than four decades.

Senator Russell's extraordinary intellectual capacity combined with great personal charm to make him one of the most influential American political leaders of this century. His passing is a great loss to the Nation and to all who knew him and who respected his dedication to America and to the South which he so dearly loved.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. Boggs. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect for the deceased Senator from Georgia, the Honorable Richard B. Russell, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 25, 1971, at 12 o'clock noon.

Hon. Phil M. Landrum

OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, yesterday, January 24, 1971, the remains of a great statesman, Senator Richard B. Russell, were interred in the family cemetery in his hometown of Winder, Ga.

More than half of the U.S. Senate, a great number of the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and many from the staffs of the committees of Congress and various departments of Government traveled to Georgia to pay respects at the last rites of this distinguished American. Some were able to land in Georgia and attend in person before weather conditions closed in the airports in all the surrounding cities and towns. But those designated to be the official spokesmen from Washington at these last rites were prevented by heavy fog and rain from landing and had to travel on to Charleston, S.C.

There a remarkable accomplishment took place, and I believe it is worthwhile to describe for the record the events that transpired. First, we were paying tributes at the last rites to a remarkable man from a most remarkable family, a man who had served in public office more than 50 years and whose leadership in public office no doubt contributed in some measure to the ability of his survivors to carry out the official program which was his last rites from Charleston.

When we were unable to land in Georgia and proceeded on to Charleston, S.C., Senator Herman Talmadge telephoned from the Vice President's plane to the family in Winder and described our situation. Mr. Leonard Reinsch, a long time friend of the late Senator and an official of the Cox Broadcasting Co., was present at Winder and suggested to Senator Talmadge that he would telephone the television station owner in Charleston and request him to televise from his studios the part of the official program, including Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the Senate, the Vice President, Senator Talmadge, Senator Mike Mansfield, Senator John C. Stennis, and myself.

Within the space of an hour, Mr. John Rivers, owner of the Charleston station, was able to bring back into service from a Sunday holiday the essential members of his staff, and arrangements were made through the station and the telephone company to transmit through Atlanta WSB–TV to the gravesite in Winder, Ga., the tributes delivered by those of us in the official party.

These details are described here to emphasize what man has accomplished during the 50 years of service of our late friend, Richard B. Russell.

And so, on behalf of those on the official program and on behalf of the Georgia delegation and the thousands of friends of the Russell family, we want to extend our thanks to Mr. Rivers and his associates in South Carolina and to Mr. Reinsch and those associated with him in Georgia for making this possible.

Senator Russell was a personal friend for more than 40 years of my life. He was a counselor on whom I could depend when advice was needed. With his late father and most of his brothers and sisters I enjoyed an association which has been a rewarding one down through the years.

Mrs. Landrum joins me in extending to all of his family our warm and affectionate regards and our deepest sympathy.

May I ask the Members to indulge me briefly to repeat the words I offered in tribute to the late Senator at the time of his funeral on yesterday.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL BY HON. PHIL M. LANDRUM, AT THE FUNERAL, JANUARY 24, 1971

A brilliant intellect; a vigorous, thorough student; a principle of iron; a fearless courage—one like Alexander Hamilton Stephens afraid of nothing but to do wrong—love of people with unselfish devotion to public service; unshakable faith in government of, by, and for the people; a calm competence in times of crisis, all this in one man was Dick Russell—statesman extraordinary.

For those of us who had the joy of shared experience with him, our recollections will continue to inspire. For those who come to know him only through history and share these experiences vicariously, his sense of fairness, his impeccable honesty, his record of achievement as speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, as Governor of the State of Georgia and as a U.S. Senator for more than a generation will provide a unique formula for greatness.

Georgians loved him with glowing loyalty. The Nation respected him for his undaunted patriotism, his unparalleled contributions to its national security. And the world will come to observe his high standards of conduct as a measuring line for true statesmanship.

Hon. Carl Albert

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, I want first of all to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished dean of the Georgia delegation respecting one of the great men not only of the Congress but of this century.

If there ever was a Senator "sui generis" it was Dick Russell. He was a great man and a legislator of rare talents.

I doubt that there have been five Members of Congress in this century who have been consulted by occupants of the White House, by Presidents of the United States, as many times as Senator Russell was consulted by every President from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Richard Nixon. And I doubt that there was any man whose judgment they deemed more sound than that of Senator Russell. I have heard President Kennedy and President Johnson and President Nixon speak to this issue many times. As a matter of fact, President Johnson told me, when he was majority leader, that he liked to have Dick Russell close by when the going was tough.

Richard Brevard Russell was truly a distinguished leader, a great gentleman, and a great human being—humble but firm, sincere but determined. He was one of the greatest of the great.

Mrs. Albert and I extend our deepest sympathy to Senator Russell's family.

Hon. Gerald R. Ford

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, before I was elected to the House of Representatives I read about Senator Richard B. Russell. Naturally, those articles I read praised his great ability and his dedication. When I first came to the House, I looked forward to an opportunity to meet him and to work with him.

After a period of service on the House Committee on Appropriations I came into contact with Senator Russell for the first time. The occasion was one of many meetings between House and Senate conferees on appropriation bills.

It was my privilege for a number of years to be a member of the Defense Subcommittee on Appropriations. Each year the Senate and House conferees would meet to make basic decisions to be incorporated in a conference report on important matters involving our national security. As we sat hour after hour each year in these meetings, trying to resolve those differences between the House version and the Senate version, the one man whose fundamental judgment was

most prevailing in the decisions we made was Senator Russell. He had unbelievable skill in working out a compromise between differing points of view. He had uncanny wisdom as to what was right and what was wrong. His knowledge of national security matters was unparalleled during my service in the House of Representatives.

The distinguished Speaker has spoken glowingly of Senator Russell's honesty and integrity. He demonstrated this quality from beginning to end. It is emblematic of his entire career. He was dedicated not to political party or to a narrow political philosophy.

He was dedicated only to what was right for America. Subsequently I had the opportunity to serve with Senator Russell along with the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. Boggs), on the Commission that had the tragic responsibility of investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. As the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. Boggs) well knows, that was not an easy task. He also knows, as I do, that on one or more of the most important decisions made by that group of seven that Senator Russell's counsel was of maximum importance. Senator Russell's leadership on the Warren Commission contributed significantly to the quality of the Commission's report.

I, like the distinguished Speaker, have been in meetings with various Presidents where Senator Russell was a participant. Whether it was President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson, or President Nixon, each and every one of those Presidents had the highest respect for the observations and recommendations of Senator Russell.

I consider it a privilege to have personally known this great American. I think all of us are the better because he served in the Congress of the United States, making decisions for all of us and for all of mankind.

Hon. Hale Boggs
OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, the distinguished Speaker, and the distinguished minority leader in paying tribute to the life of this great American, Richard Russell of Georgia.

Former Speaker John McCormack, in describing one of our colleagues who had gone to his reward, once said that if he had to be described as a great man or a good man, he would rather be described as a good man.

In the life of Richard Russell no such choice has to be made. He was indeed a great man, and he was also a very good man, a man of humility and of great understanding.

Senator Russell was generous with his time, his help, and advice, particularly to younger Members of Congress. He was a man who was self-effacing despite the tremendous and awesome responsibility he carried. He was always humble.

The distinguished minority leader referred to Senator Russell's service on the Warren Commission. I think his service did more than almost any other member of that Commission to dispel doubt about the events surrounding that dreadful day in 1963. I might say—and I have never mentioned this publicly—that after Senator Russell had been on this Commission for about a week or two and he saw the magnitude of the work, the volumes of testimony he would have to listen to and read, the decisions he would have to make and the trips that he would have to take, particularly to Dallas, he told the President that he did not feel he had the time to devote to the Commission to give it full justice.

The President argued with him for awhile, and Senator Russell said, "No" he just could not do it. The President was so upset that he telephoned me in New Orleans and told me about this. He said that it was essential that Senator Russell stay on the Commission.

Mr. Lee, who is now the chief counsel of the city of New York and who had been Solicitor General of the United States, was selected as general counsel for the Commission. I called him because I knew he could go to Senator Russell in a totally unbiased way and convince him of the necessity of serving on the Commission. This he did, and upon that persuasion he stayed on the Commission.

Mr. Speaker, if Senator Russell did not hear, he read over 5 million words of testimony taken by that Commission. I went to Dallas with him where he spent 2 days taking testimony, looking at the site, and inspecting the grim realities of those events.

Mr. Speaker, this was just another indication of the sense of duty and sense of dedication that this man had.

Our Nation has lost one of its really great citizens, a man whose entire life and career were dedicated to the advancement of this country and the people who reside herein.

I know that he will be sorely missed in this 92d Congress.

To his family, Mrs. Boggs joins me in extending my deepest sympathy.

I, too, was on the trip yesterday when we had to be diverted, and in a sense it was sad, because I had never seen such a congressional delegation assembled to attend the funeral of one of its Members. At least two-thirds of the Members of the U.S. Senate were aboard those three planes. I think, however, that the pilot used very good judgment in not attempting to land at that ceiling and under those circumstances I know the family of Senator Russell understood our absence.

Hon. John J. Flynt, Jr.

OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from Georgia (Mr. Landrum) the dean of our delegation, and the remarks of the Speaker of the House and the majority and minority leaders. I rise to pay solemn tribute to the life and service of Richard Brevard Russell, late Senator of the United States and the senior Senator from Georgia.

There was no man whom I admired and respected more than Senator Russell. My personal feelings toward him can only be described as those of devotion. Last Thursday, when we received word that he was dead, even though it was not unexpected, my initial reaction was one of shocked grief which is usually experienced only when one loses a member of his immediate family.

Senator Russell was Georgia's most illustrious son. He was one of the outstanding men in America. Honor and integrity are the words which best describe him. Keen intellect and unexcelled ability also are appropriate in describing him and his service.

The State and the people of Georgia, and our Nation, have sustained a grievous and irreparable loss occasioned by his death. As far as we in Georgia are concerned, no one can take his place. His vacant Senate seat will be filled by appointment and subsequently by election, but his place in the hearts and minds of Georgians and his prestige in the Senate of the United States will not be replaced.

Richard Russell towered as a giant in the Congress of the United States. Without question he was the most highly respected and most beloved Member of the Congress—on both sides of the Capitol. He did not win all of his legislative battles but those he lost, he lost with dignity and graciousness. He was magnanimous when he prevailed as he was proud and respected when his position was overwhelmed by numerical strength.

In floor debate he had the best grasp of the situation of any Senator and was probably the most skillful parliamentarian of this country. He knew the rules and the procedures of the Senate as well or better than any other Senator. He cast his votes not on the basis of what was popular, but what he believed right in the interest of a strong United States. He legislated not for the passions and prejudices of the present but for the future and those principles upon which he knew a strong and stable America depends.

It has been my pleasure and high privilege to know him for nearly half a century. I first met him in 1921 when he was a newly elected representative in the general assembly from his native Barrow County. His father and my father had even then been good friends for 20 years. That friendship with my father was transmitted from Judge Russell to his son. Years later I inherited that friendship for Dick Russell from my father and I hope that I have subsequently earned it on my own.

After serving in the U.S. Naval Reserve in World War I, he successfully ran for the general assembly from Barrow County in 1920. He served in the Georgia House of Representatives from 1921 to 1931. During his second term, he was, in 1923, elected speaker pro tem, a post he held for two terms from 1923 to 1927.

In 1927 he was elected speaker of the house and was reelected in 1929.

In 1930 he ran for Governor of Georgia. He was the youngest of the candidates. The other candidates included the incumbent secretary of state who had previously served as president of

the senate. Another candidate was a former Governor, U.S. Representative and U.S. Senator.

One candidate was a future house speaker, a former president pro tem of the senate and a future Governor of Georgia.

Another candidate was a former house speaker and chairman of the State highway board. Another candidate was a member of the public service commission.

Dick Russell waged the most dynamic campaign of all and emerged from the first primary into a runoff with the secretary of state. In the runoff primary the 32-year-old Dick Russell won the Democratic nomination and then the general election as Governor of Georgia.

He served as Governor from June 1931 until January 1933. His administration was marked by a far-reaching plan of reorganization of State government, many aspects of which are still in effect and under which our State government officiates today.

On April 18, 1932, the then senior Senator from Georgia, Hon. William J. Harris, died in Washington, D.C., and although Hon. John Sanford Cohen was named to an interim appointment it immediately became known that Governor Russell would be a candidate for the unexpired term. He did run for the U.S. Senate and was nominated in the Democratic primary and elected in the general election. He chose not to be sworn in immediately but remained in the Governor's office until his successor was sworn in as Governor January 12, 1933, at the age of 35.

He was reelected in 1936, 1942, 1948, 1954, 1960, and 1966. His seventh term as Senator would not have expired until January 1973.

He received early assignment to the Committees on Naval Affairs and Appropriations. In 1951, he became chairman of the Committee on Armed Services which chairmanship he retained until he relinquished it to become chairman of Appropriations in January 1969.

In January 1969, he was elected President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate and was serving as President pro tempore of the Senate and chairman of the Committee on Appropriations at the time of his death.

At his request, his body lay in state in the rotunda of the State capitol in Atlanta, Ga. From early Friday afternoon throughout Friday night and until late Saturday afternoon, thousands of Georgians filed by his bier to pay their last respects to Georgia's most distinguished and beloved son.

On yesterday afternoon, January 24, 1971, his body was committed to his native Georgia soil which he loved with an undying devotion.

The now senior Senator from Georgia, Hon. Herman E. Talmadge, expressed it simply and beautifully when he said that his departed colleague "loved his State and was just as much a part of it as the red hills of Georgia."

Richard Brevard Russell served Georgia nearly all of his life. He served continuously as an elected public official from 1921 to 1971. He reflected credit on the very highest traditions of his State and his people and of public service in the highest sense of that term. In 50 years of public service and public office there was never any public nor private scandal associated with Dick Russell, there was never the slightest whisper of such.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that I had the opportunity to know Dick Russell and to call him my friend. He always supported without hesitation or reservation everything I asked of him relating to our congressional district and the people of that district. I have lost a dear and treasured friend.

Mrs. Flynt and our children join me in extending our love, condolences, and heartfelt sympathy to Senator Russell's family.

We in Georgia are grateful for his life and service to our State and Nation. We feel that both are better because he came our way and gave to us his life and service.

May our Heavenly Father receive him into His eternal kingdom and grant him peace.

Requiescat in pace.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks certain editorials which have appeared in the news media of Georgia's Sixth District and other places:

[From the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

Thousands upon thousands of words about Sen. Richard Brevard Russell of Winder, Ga., will be written and spoken in the wake of his death.

They are customary but really unnecessary.

The man's life spoke for itself.

He served the people of his state well, first as their governor then as their senator in the nation's capital.

Being at the seat of world power was familiar territory to him.

Six presidents came to know him well and rely on his judgment.

It often has been said and written that Sen. Russell could have been president of the United States, had he not been born in the South.

Perhaps this fact in retrospect might now say something to the rest of the nation which customarily points an accusing finger at the South without looking at its own prejudices, too.

But Sen. Russell was not a person to think or deal on such a level. His way was stick to the issues.

Above all else, he never forgot the fact that the office he held was not his own but belonged to the people of Georgia who allowed him to fill it for so long a time.

So it seems appropriate that he chose to pass up a national funeral in Washington. Instead it was his wish that last rites should be held in Georgia from whence he came.

All Georgians claim him proudly. He has left us a great heritage.

[From the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 22, 1971]

Flynt Says Russell Was Giant

Rep. John J. Flynt, Jr., of Griffin, today made this statement about Sen. Russell:

"The state of Georgia and the nation have sustained a grievous and irreparable loss in the death of Sen. Richard B. Russell.

"Sen. Russell towered as a giant in the Senate and the Congress of the United States. He was the most highly respected and most beloved member of the Congress.

"He was Georgia's most distinguished son and one of the outstanding men in America. His contributions to our state and nation will long be remembered.

"In Georgia our people have lost our greatest public servant, and I have lost a dear and treasured friend. Whenever I called upon him on a matter affecting our district and the people of our district, he unhesitatingly responded without reservation.

"Mrs. Flynt and our children extend our love and heartfelt sympathy to Sen. Russell's family."

Rep. Flynt planned to fly to Georgia this week to attend the funeral of Sen Russell.

[From the Thomaston (Ga.) Times, Jan. 21, 1971]

A Truly Great American

At this writing Senator Richard B. Russell is gravely ill in Washington, D.C.

We dare not try to second guess the Good Lord, but our concern for Senator Russell is deep.

He is, in all probability, the man history will record as the greatest Georgian of our times.

More than that, the nation will always remember Senator Russell as being among the top Americans of the twentieth century.

His statesmanship is without living parallel and history will have to search deeply to find one there on par.

Senator Russell made one of his last two public appearances in Georgia right here in Thomaston when he was the speaker at the Thomaston and Upson County Chamber of Commerce annual meeting four years ago.

This great man has been as close to Upson as to any other part of Georgia and his great aid in bringing about the development of the Flint River Dams will always be remembered.

It is little wonder that we feel so strongly the bonds of friendship between Senator Richard B. Russell and this community.

And without apology we covet your prayers for him.

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, Jan. 22, 1971]

Senator Russell, Most Loved, Most Powerful Georgian

We shall not see his likes again, that gentle Georgian who was at one and the same time the most powerful and the most beloved member of the United States Senate.

May our children remember well the name of Richard Brevard Russell.

Even when his colleagues disagreed with him, they deeply admired and respected him. Sometimes his fellow Georgians found themselves at odds with his stand on a particular issue but no Georgian ever doubted the senator's integrity, his sincerity, his determination to do the right as God had given him the light to see that right.

Harry Truman once said Sen. Russell would have been President had he been from some other section of the country. Perhaps he would have. And probably it is a condemnation of the rest of the country that sectionalism barred him from the post. But Richard B. Russell was never bitter over his fate. On the contrary he proudly called himself a Georgian, he kept his soft Southern accent until his dying breath, he maintaind his courtly manner to the very end, he died a Georgian humbly in the service of his nation.

No, we shall never see his likes again, Richard B. Russell, third in line of succession to the presidency of the United States. Second only to the president in power because of his preeminence in the Senate. And first in the hearts of Georgians to whom he gave his entire adult life in faithful and effective service.

Surely if any man has ever earned the right to eternal rest from his labors, Richard Russell is that man. In deep sadness, Georgia prepares to receive her noblest son.

[From the Macon (Ga.) News, Jan. 23, 1971]

Senator Richard Russell Was Legislative Giant

The heart of Georgia ached with sorrow Thursday at the passing of its most beloved and respected son, United States Sen. Richard Brevard Russell Jr.

For nearly four decades, the tall, courtly senator with the razor-sharp mind, unquestioned sincerity and indomitable courage cast a giant shadow across that parliamentary body. A dedicated patriot who placed his country's welfare above all other considerations, he remained to the end an unabashed champion of Southern ideals and traditions.

Sen. Russell's influence was so profound that its reverberations will be felt for generations to come; his accomplishments so many and remarkable that history is

certain to recognize him as one of this country's ablest legislators.

But despite the prestige and power he commanded as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and later its Appropriations Committee, Richard B. Russell remained extremely close to the people of his state. He was proud to be a Georgian, and his love and devotion for the South never wavered throughout his long and distinguished career in Washington.

Sen. Russell's death represents a grievous loss to Georgia and the South, the full measure of which is as yet incalculable. There is, however, no one who could replace him. Someone else, it's true, will be seated at his center aisle desk, but filling a chair does not replace a man.

Sen. Russell's death symbolizes the end of an era. Perhaps no one of his unparalleled stature, influence and integrity will ever be seen in the United States Senate again.

[From the La Grange (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL DAM: MEMORIAL TO GREATNESS

Senator Richard B. Russell will be buried Sunday, but the memory of this man of greatness will remain in the minds of all Georgians.

In reverence to the memory of one of this country's greatest statesmen. The Daily News advocates that the West Point dam and reservoir be named the "Richard B. Russell Dam."

What more fitting name could this project bear? Who among us deserves the honor more?

The Daily News calls on our representatives in Congress, Senator Herman Talmadge and Sixth District Congressman John J. Flynt, to take the necessary action to bring this to reality.

We respectfully ask that our County and State legislators give their unanimous support to a cause which will preserve the memory of a great man to our children and our grandchildren.

[From the La Grange (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 23, 1971]

TO HIM GOD A LIVING PRESENCE

Richard Brevard Russell, the man who made the United States Senate his life, will be borne back in death today to his native red clay soil.

The body of the famous senator, who climbed to greatness without losing touch with the common man, will lie in state in the Russell family home, white frame and white pillared, in the community of Russell, incorporated in 1903 and named after his father.

The town's population is listed as only 378 but it enjoys the undeniable distinction of being the home of Georgia's favorite son.

Even in the last hours of his life Russell continued his fight for the Southland that he loved so dearly, and on his deathbed left his legacy to the Senate.

Russell sent the vote which deposed Edward Kennedy as assistant Senate Democratic leader and elevated to that post Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia.

All during the day Friday, words of praise poured in from every section of the nation for the senior senator from Georgia who died in Washington Thursday.

President Nixon said Russell's character and courage "moved him indisputedly into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate."

Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott called him "a giant among giants" and Republican whip Robert Griffin of Michigan called him a "senator's senator."

Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi said of the Georgian: "More than anyone in Washington for the last 20 years Richard Russell had the best grasp of all the major problems of our government."

And Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana called him "the ablest member of the Senate who represented an institution, an exemplary standard, a code of ethics."

Sen. Herman Talmadge termed Russell a "legend in his own time" and Carl Vinson declared of him: "He was one of the most brilliant men of my acquaintance. He was possessed of an analytical mind that was unsurpassed."

And there were a multitude of other words of praise, coming from both the highplaces and from the man on the street, who felt that he had lost his greatest friend of government.

But perhaps the words which will be remembered and cherished most by the family of Richard B. Russell will be those spoken by Bishop John Owen Smith of the United Methodist Church.

Said Bishop Smith: "Senator Russell will be remembered as one of history's most powerful, yet most humble men.

"He personified a rare form of greatness. To him God was a living presence and the Kingdom of Christ was the idea to which the future belonged."

[From the Thomaston (Ga.) Free Press, Jan. 25, 1971]

HE WOULD RATHER HAVE BEEN A GEORGIAN THAN PRESIDENT

"Senator Richard B. Russell had rather have been a Georgian and a Southerner than to have been President."

We believe that sincerely and it seems to us the greatest tribute that can be paid this truly great American.

President Harry Truman was the first to say that "I believe that if Russell had been from Indiana, or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been President of the United States."

Senator Russell with his seniority in the Senate and his outstanding record of public service could well have moved his residency to one of those states and been elected to the Senate and ultimately to the Presidency. (This is what Robert Kennedy did and with the same goal).

Richard Brevard Russell was Georgia born, Georgia bred American, so proud of that fact that he had rather enjoy this rich heritage than to have been President of the United States.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Jan. 22, 1971]

DICK RUSSELL

Among all the thousands of words in the Congressional Directory, devoted to the sometimes self-serving biographies submitted by members of Congress, the shortest of all was that offered by Georgia's senior senator, *Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga.*

It was a modest entry, typical of the man.

The late Sen. Russell, dead at 73, gave in at last yesterday to a better-than-five year struggle with a lung disease, chronic emphysema. His long battle befitted the man. It was a gallant battle, uncomplaining, a battle Dick Russell knew in the end he must lose.

Russell, aware of his problems of health, always said he would step down at any point when he could no longer serve his constituents. He meant it. He gave his staff stern instructions to be candid about his condition whenever he was in the hospital. He was aware, no doubt, when he last sought reelection in 1966, that he might not live out another six-year term.

We feel certain that Russell would have stepped down at any point when, in his view, his health interfered with his duties. But, at the same time, we pay him the compliment of thinking perhaps he wanted to die in office, to let his life and his long significant career in the U.S. Senate end at the same time.

He never married. He loved his family, the many brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews. He was inordinately fond of the children of his staff members. He seemed an austere public man, almost Spartan in outlook, but those near him found him a warm and friendly man. He never married, but he took as mistress the United States Senate, and his full 38 years service in the Senate amounted to more than half his span of life.

In later years, Russell led the Southern Senate opposition to civil rights legislation. We believed him wrong on that issue and said so. But it's worth noting the reason *why* he was the leader of the Southern group: it was inevitable, because of Russell's own character and intelligence. Lesser men often hid behind that leadership, men who used the cheap demagogic tactics of racist politics to win public office. Russell never did that; he was neither a hater nor a demagogue.

Harry Truman once wrote that Russell probably would have been President of the United States, had he not been a Southerner, and it's probably true. But his service meant much to the nation, from the days when he helped mold New Deal legislation in the 1930s to the years of influencing our entire military structure. He was an adviser to presidents, giving his best counsel when asked, and never then vaingloriously quoting to others what he said to the President or the President to him.

Russell completed his 38th year in the U.S. Senate a few days ago and, in a statement issued from his hospital bed, he thanked Georgia citizens "for permitting me to serve at the very hub of our national life during the most exciting era in human history."

Let that stand as a farewell. Dick Russell was a man of honesty, and character, and devotion to public service. We salute him.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

The death of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell, Jr., leaves a void in the state and in the nation which will not be filled within the foreseeable future.

He was a giant of a man whose influence shaped and molded national policy, particularly in the vital and all-encompassing fields of money and defense.

At his death he was chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee as well as president pro tem of the Senate. Prior to that he had been chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee since 1951.

He was the friend of presidents from both political parties. His influence and support were eagerly sought by whoever happened to reside in the White House.

It is characteristic of the man that although he was a life-long Democrat, on matters of national interest he did not hold to a narrow and partisan view. His outlook was too broad to be so constricted. And he threw his support to whatever he thought in the best interest of the nation as a whole.

"I'm a reactionary when times are good," he said in 1963. "In a depression I'm a liberal."

Sen. Russell's potential stature was indicated when he first entered politics. Going to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1921 at the age 23, he was designated speaker pro tem in 1923 and was elected speaker four years later.

When his father, the late Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, Richard B. Russell, Sr., swore him in as governor of the state in 1931, he was the second youngest governor in Georgia history.

He went to Washington as a U.S. senator in 1933 and there he remained until his death.

Without seeking the nomination, in 1948 Sen. Russell received 263 votes in Democratic convention balloting for a presidential candidate. Four years later he did actively seek the prize, but the second ballot was his high point and he was not to receive it.

Indicative of the esteem in which he was held, he headed a 1951 Senate investigation of the explosive issue of President Truman's firing Gen. of the Army Douglas MacArthur, and in 1963 was appointed to the Warren Commission which investigated the assassination of President Kennedy.

Throughout his Senate career, Sen. Russell reflected glory and honor upon his native state.

Sen. Russell's accomplishments brought him world-wide fame and renown. At home this is remembered with pride, but at home the senator is remembered for other things. He is remembered for his devotion to his family and to the family home, which was his home at the time of his death, and for the care he took of his family's burying ground near this home. He is remembered at home for his personal charm and rare, dry wit, qualities which he did not trouble to project to the nation and world, saving them for those he knew. He is remembered at home for his pride in his state and his people who helped develop it from the beginning. He is remembered here for his clean taste for simple things. He is remembered as the father of the University Sys-

tem of Georgia, for he was the governor who organized the system when he reorganized the state, bringing order out of chaos in which separate institutions fought each other for appropriations. In this chaos there was no possibility for growth or quality.

So will he be remembered by the many Georgians who brushed against him or came within his range. He will be remembered for his adherence to what he considered to be right, and what he was taught was right as a youth. He believed in the Constitution as interpreted prior to the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt and he did not change his opinions here, though he must have known that modern historians might judge him harshly on this point. In this as in other things he was consistent to the end.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 25, 1971]

SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL: "A STUDY IN DIVISION"

(By Eugene C. Patterson)

The telephone rang on Christmas Eve, 1964, and from the old-fashioned house sitting on cotton land outside Winder, Ga., came the soft, formal voice of Senator Richard Brevard Russell, chairman of the United States Senate Armed Services Committee.

"I see you have just been in Vietnam," he said, "and I would like to get your impression of the situation out there. But first, let me tell you my impression which I am inclined to give to my friend, who called me from the ranch this afternoon.

"He said they have just blown up the Brink's officers quarters in Saigon, and on top of that the South Vietnamese government seems to be trying to declare Max Taylor persona non grata. I am inclined to tell the President when I call him back that if I were President I would sail the Seventh Fleet up the Saigon River, load those 23,000 Americans aboard and bring them home."

That private insight never surfaced in the public record after the Vietcong struck Pleiku. "Where the flag is committed, I am committed," Senator Russell announced, and he held to that until he died on Thursday.

To us Georgians, Senator Russell was as distant and contradictory a figure as he seemed to some in the Senate. Few of the homefolks called him Dick, though his early campaign posters affected that familiarity. He called people by their full names and they were not comfortable if they intruded beyond his own formality. Perhaps this untouchable courtliness, this robe of reticence within which he kept his counsel, contributed to the breaking of an engagement to be married.

Who can know? Few men now living even know that once in the 1930s the rising young politician asked a girl to marry him and bring warmth into the lifetime that he spent instead in a cold bachelor's room in Washington.

The late Ralph McGill declined to print, in his and the senator's lifetimes, the story that he and a few other Georgians knew. Richard B. Russell had fallen in love, proposed, and been accepted. The engagement announcement had been brought to McGill at the Atlanta Constitution for Sunday publication despite the opposition of some political advisers who thought the bride's Roman Catholicism would hurt Russell's elective career in Georgia.

Then at the last moment, when the announcement had been set in type, McGill said Russell hurriedly asked him to withdraw it. The editor barely managed to do so before the presses turned. McGill was never sure why the engagement was broken. Senator Russell lived out his life in gentlemanly silence, alone.

A wealthy Atlanta Catholic, Hughes Spalding, was one of the senator's principal supporters in his re-election race against Gene Talmadge in 1936. And with one splendid stroke, Russell demolished a campaign effort to use that religious connection against him. He had taken the stump at a rural rally when Talmadge supporters suddenly scattered handbills through the crowd calling attention to Russell's political friendship with a communicant of the Catholic faith.

One of the handbills was brought to Russell on the platform and he addressed the issue directly. "My friends," he said, waving the pamphlet, "I see here that they are attacking a good friend of mine because of the church he goes to. Well, I want to tell you and the people of Georgia where I stand on that:

"I have never yet seen a man who's got enough religion to hurt him!"

The good ole boys whooped. The issue was laughed out of the campaign. Snapping his red galluses, Talmadge turned instead to attacking Russell as a "rubber stamp of the Washington bureaucrats." The Roosevelt handouts that Russell supported had to be stopped, Talmadge cried, or "you won't be able to hire a plow hand, a hoe hand, washwoman or cook, because they'll all be living on pensions."

But Richard B. Russell, unashamed New Dealer, had a flamboyance of his own in 1946. He replied to Talmadge by mounting the platform with a hammer in his hand and standing behind a plank in which several tenpenny nails had been started.

"I'm going to nail their lives," he would announce to the cheering crowds, and one by one, as he smote an enemy claim, he drove a nail into the plank, "hammering home the truth." He thrashed Gene Talmadge and never again faced serious opposition for the Senate.

Russell's fellow reformers in the days of hard times, like The Constitution's McGill, watched dismayed in the later decades as the albatross of Southern politicians weighed down his national promise. Russell was never a racial demagogue of the stripe that pandered from the stump to the freckle-bellies. But his speeches after the 1954 Supreme Court decision and his generalship of Southern resistance in the Senate were no less hurtful, and maybe more so, for the stateliness of their delivery. Georgia moderates who could not fail to respect his capacity came to despair at his unyielding intolerance of racial change, legislated or decreed. Vulgar racists could be met and whipped. But a strong man with the wrong idea was formidable.

"I still can't dislike him the way I dislike some of these other Southern birds who're after the votes," Ralph McGill once mused. "He's a Bourbon, still up there on the veranda. He really *believes* in slavery."

Russell himself kept a certain detachment about times and people he couldn't understand. After leading a fili-

buster against a civil rights bill while his friend Lyndon Johnson was President, he commented privately:

"President Johnson has the widest tolerance of any man I've ever known. If I'd been him during this filibuster, I'd have cut my throat a thousand times by now.

The Kennedys came to power when Russell and Rep. Carl Vinson were still able to reduce congressional military affairs to a "whispered conversation between Georgians." Senator Russell appraised John, Robert and Edward Kennedy in his own way.

President John F. Kennedy had "the most charm," he said, but he faulted him as a senator who hadn't been very interested in his duties. He found Robert F. Kennedy's concepts of the use of power "alarming."

"Young Edward is the best politician of the three," he judged. He displayed a considerable fondness for Ted. When the freshman senator found himself thrust into the chore of presiding over the Senate in his early days, few knew that Senator Russell was staying in his own chair for long periods because he was sending up quiet notes to Senator Kennedy on how to proceed. He asked a reporter who learned about this not to write it then because he did not want to "embarrass" the liberal from Massachusetts.

In a sense it was characteristic that Senator Russell released his deathbed proxy to help dump Ted Kennedy as Democratic Whip.

His life and his perceptions were a study in division. Those of us who fought his racial views on the home ground felt he needlessly withheld a hand from a state in need, given his secure political position. Yet apart from his intractable stands that hindered Georgia's transition, Richard B. Russell had always within himself that other part, the separate surface of rectitude, honor and fair intent which every man needs if he is to be elevated above his liabilities. In Georgia, as in the Senate, the qualities were sensed and valued.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 22, 1971]

A Giant in the Senate

It bespoke the dignified simplicity of the late Senator Russell that his biographical sketch in the Congressional Directory consisted of just one line: "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Georgia." He was not a man to flaunt himself.

But relatively few men have held the power that was wielded by this gentleman from the north Georgia hills, who was both modest and magisterial, and who died yesterday at the age of 73. Senatorial politics through history has been the South's highest art, and none from the region has surprised Richard B. Russell as a practitioner of it.

For many years he was the leader of the Southern bloc, and no one ever has organized and led it more forcefully and effectively. And he gained respect beyond the South, twice receiving much more than token support for the Democratic nomination for President at national conventions. It is possible, as President Truman once said, that he might have won the highest office in the Forties or Fifties had he not been a Southerner, for he was a man of keen mind and marvelous energy.

But a Southerner he was, and not only that, but "Mr. Southerner." He was the general in the last great battles for the Lost Cause, a peerless master of parliamentary tactics, and when the civil rights bills finally rolled over his contingent he was deeply melancholy. We disagreed with him on those questions, but respected his iron integrity, He had a rigid view of states rights that was classical in the Old South, and he would not bend. But he believed in law, and when the civil rights bills became law he counseled obedience. There were less responsible men to whom the South might have rallied if Senator Russell had not been at the helm. Like the patricians of old, in whose mold he was cast, he took defeat gracefully and did not gloat in victory.

He knew victory, too, and made important contributions to his nation and state. Chairing pivotal committees, he was a champion of national preparedness, and, in earlier days, of such programs as rural electrification. He lived to be dean of the Senate and, as former President Johnson said, "a giant among his colleagues." And he was one of the last of the courtly order of Southern statesmen who have lived by a stern code of duty and honor. His death reminds of the passing of an age.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell

It was several years ago. The young freshman senator who was paying his courtesy calls on the hierarchs of the Senate believed he had found the perfect line of reasoning to quash any reservations the senior senator from Georgia might have about his election to the Senate at so tender and untried an age. So sitting there in Senator Russell's imposing office, he observed that it was heartening to him to reflect upon the fact that so august a leader as Senator Russell had *himself* first come to the Senate at just about the same age—was that not true? To which Senator Russell—entertained but hardly vanquished by the ploy—replied with a smile, "Yes, it is true. But of course by then I'd already been governor."

It is hard to recall now the sheer span of time and social change that marked the public career of Richard Brevard Russell who died yesterday at the age of 73. And for those who prefer their politics simple and clean—in the manner of a true-or-false exam—it may also prove inconvenient. For to contemplate that career is to face up to its ambiguities and evident contradictions, to acknowledge that a man can be a great public servant and yet have devoted a considerable part of his official life to the promotion of policies and views one finds reprehensible. It is also to acknowledge inconsistency and change, taking account of a host of conflicting impulses and actions. For Senator Russell, a man who had become emblematic to many of resistance to racial justice and nothing more, began his public career and pursued it for many long years as an ardent New Dealer, a champion of the poor and an economic reformer. And there was a time too—quite a stretch of it, in fact, before the present critics got their bearings or their nerve—when Senator Russell, for all his nearness to the military, functioned as its

principal taskmaster and watchdog in Congress, scrutinizing its budgets, calling it to account, and expressing misgiving at some of its pretensions and plans.

Certainly, he did none of this in the style of Congress today. But it is well to remember that Senator Russell, as a skeptic concerning the wisdom of our Southeast Asia involvement, was there before practically anyone else. And although he was basically sympathetic to the military, he was also capable of great detachment and objectivity in relation to it. It was Richard Russell, no enthusiast of Harry Truman, who conducted the hearings on the recall of General MacArthur—hearings which are generally regarded as a model of fairness and honest inquiry, and which are pretty universally credited too with having brought under control the explosive domestic situation that prevailed upon the recall of the popular general by the then unpopular President.

Inevitably, all this may seem small beer in the radically altered environment of our time. For there has been kaleidoscopic social, racial and political change over the span of Richard Russell's career, much of it in reaction to old policies and blind assumptions in which he partook, so that he became at once the agent and the victim of a large part of the change he deplored. "The times have passed me by"—it was a favored formulation of his later years, less a complaint than a candid acknowledgement of fact, and it was made especially in relation to the Democratic Party, once—in his aggressive, reforming years—the wellspring of his political life, now a source of bafflement to him.

On his death it might be appropriate to observe that in one sense the times passed Richard Russell by not just as a potential national leader, but also as an archetypal villain for liberaldom. For it is a consequence of our changed consciousness that we, as a political community, now recognize the degree to which racial prejudices and costly foreign policy assumptions for which men like Senator Russell have been ritually castigated, were and are part of the mindset of the populace as a whole—including many of those liberal reformers now trying to set them straight. So a degree of humility might be in order on the occasion of Richard Russell's death. It allows one to contemplate his virtues and achievements, not his faults, and they—the former—were both considerable and very real.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 22, 1971]

OLD SOUTH OF RUSSELL IS YIELDING TO THE NEW

(By James Reston)

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—The old South is mourning the death of Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, but there is a new South, now partly liberated from history, and the tragedy of Dick Russell is that he was sick and old when the political transformation of the South took place.

He is a symbol of the accident of time and life in American politics. He had that gift, so rare and important now, of making people believe in his integrity as a person, even when they disagreed with his policies.

Nobody could have disagreed with his support of the military more than Sen. J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, but Fulbright believed in Russell, and thought he might very well have gone to the very pinnacle of American politics in the White House if he had been born in another region. He never really got over the thought that he was rejected as a presidential nominee because he was a Southerner. He made one run at the presidency, but was passed over, not because he did not measure up to his competitors, but simply because he was from the South. And he died a sad, lonely and embittered man because of this rejection.

It is ironic and tragic to hear of his death here in the South, and to wonder what would have happened to him, with his gift with men, and his remarkable knowledge of the intricate human American political process, if he had been a senator of the new South which is clearly now emerging.

Something remarkable and significant is happening in this part of the country. The men who have been appealing to regional and racial prejudice are declining. It is a little like what has been happening in the new nations of Asia and Africa.

The theatrical characters, appealing to the glories and prejudices of the past—Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukarno, etc. abroad; and Claude Kirk of Florida and Lester Maddox of Georgia—are being replaced by a new generation of politicians who are taking a wider view of local, national and world politics.

The new governor of Florida, Ruben Askew, took office the other day, rejecting the racial politics of his predecessor, and calling for "improved economic opportunities and equal rights for all our people, rural as well as urban, black as well as white."

The new governor of Dick Russell's state of Georgia, a peanut farmer, former state senator, and nuclear submarine officer named Jimmy Carter, took office last week proclaiming that "the time for racial discrimination is over."

Similarly, the new governor of South Carolina, John C. West, announced in his inaugural address that "the politics of race and divisiveness . . . have been soundly repudiated."

So something is happening down here. Even George Wallace of Alabama, who was shouting eight years ago, "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," took office the other day with a less provocative theme.

"We must not be a silent majority," he said in his inaugural speech, "but an alert, active voice within the law. Then we can help our state and nation."

Maybe this is all romantic campaign oratory but one should not be cynical. Later it will be possible to compare words and actions, but the new governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, and the new governor of Arkansas, Dale Bumpers, like the new governors of Florida and Georgia, are obviously singing a different tune and seem to feel that there's a new world a-coming.

This is no historical accident. The struggle of the liberal newspapers, universities, colleges, churches, businessmen, and mayors in the South during the lifetime of Russell have produced spectacular results, but they have done so over so long a span of time that the transformation has not really been widely understood.

Like Russell, the newspapers in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Raleigh, Atlanta, St. Petersburg, Miami, and

elsewhere had a hard time. And the same thing is true of the old universities in Chapel Hill and the new colleges like Florida Presbyterian College here in St. Petersburg, but the battle goes on, and things change much more than is generally realized,

In fact, the South seems to change these days even more than the North. It is too late for Dick Russell and all the other remarkable men of the South who have been passed over by the prejudices and regionalism of the past.

A lot of good men have been cut down in the struggle—not only Russell of Georgia and Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta, and Terry Sanford of North Carolina—but out of their battles we are beginning to create a new national politics in which good men, from whatever region, and even from the smaller states, may in the future have an equal chance to get to the White House.

Hon. John W. Davis
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself wtih the remarks that have been made by my colleagues who have preceded me on this occasion.

Also, I would like to mention, as did my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Flynt), that my father was great friends with Richard B. Russell. He served in the State legislature with him. When I came to Washington, Senator Russell took me under his wing immediately due to his friendship with my father.

I once read an account of the man who made it a custom to walk out on his front porch early every morning and to look up at an oak tree atop a ridge in front of his house.

One morning he walked out on his porch after a storm had occurred the night before, and he said, "Lo, a mighty oak hath fallen." Well, I would say that on this occasion—lo, the mightiest oak in Congress hath fallen. An oak upon which much of the state of our Government depended—not only up to the moment before his death, but through many, many years preceding that moment.

I would simply like to add that through his life, through his integrity, through his absolute sincerity, through his absolute absence of pretense or affectation in any form, he did build himself in the hearts of his fellow men and in the hearts of the people of his country, his State, his Nation and of the world—a monument more lasting than marble and more enduring than bronze.

Mr. Speaker, we have all suffered a great loss.

Hon. George W. Andrews
OF ALABAMA

Mr. Speaker, I was greatly saddened to learn of the death of my longtime friend and congressional colleague, Richard Brevard Russell.

In the passing of Richard Russell, the Nation has lost one of its greatest citizens, and the South has lost, perhaps, its most respected and eloquent spokesman; and the State of Georgia, one of her greatest sons.

In the U.S. Senate Richard Russell had no equal. His great power was unquestioned, and he never abused it. He used it to strengthen the foundations of and to maintain a strong national defense. He used it to institute sound fiscal policy in the operations of the Federal Government.

The Senate was his life, and his State and Nation always were the beneficiaries of his tireless energy. His wisdom and integrity were legendary in the Halls of Congress. His advice was constantly sought by his colleagues as well as Presidents under whom he served.

Richard Russell had the admiration, respect, and good will of all who knew him. His friends were legion, and I am proud that I was able to be in such distinguished company for so many years.

Mr. Speaker, I shall miss Richard Russell, a valued friend and a gentleman in every sense of the word. We shall all miss that great American, an irreplaceable giant in the legislative history of this Nation.

Mrs. Andrews joins me in extending our most heartfelt sympathies to the family of Senator Richard Russell.

I can say, Mr. Speaker, that the great State of Alabama admired, respected and loved him throughout all his years of distinguished service. In my congressional district, in the lovely little city of Eufaula, Ala., the bridge that crosses that great beautiful lake at Eufaula bears the name of Richard Brevard Russell.

He was present when that bridge was dedicated, and he expressed his love and appreciation to the people of the State of Alabama for naming that bridge for him.

Hon. Jack Brinkley
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express the great sadness which I feel today on this occasion and the appreciation which I feel toward the dean of our delegation and the others who have spoken in tribute to our late beloved colleague in the other body, Senator Richard Russell.

About 4 years ago, when I came to this body and we were first getting our office in shape, we had placed a call to Senator Russell about a matter which did not seem to be of great urgency. He had been busy all day long, and he did not return my call until the early hours of evening. It was about 7 o'clock when he called me, and I could detect the fatigue in his voice. From that day forward I knew the manner in which this man performed his service in the Congress and the excellence of his work. His dedication was unparalleled.

Shortly before coming to the Chamber today my administrative assistant, Larry Wheeler, who formerly worked for Senator Russell, handed me a 10-inch by 15-inch compilation dated January 13, 1958, which contains Senate eulogies on the 25th anniversary of the service in the Senate of the Senator. I was struck by the following words in Senator Russell's remarks in response to his colleagues in the Senate. He said:

> In times when all of us often have feelings of great frustration in our service here, the greatest remuneration we could have is the feeling that sometimes we can contribute in some small degree to some cause which will make life a little better for people somewhere.

I think that statement reflected the example of this man, and it was somewhat parallel to the example of St. Francis of Assisi, who said:

> It is better to serve than to be served. It is better to love than to be loved.

We can all say that Senator Russell loved his people, he loved his State, he loved his country with true devotion, and we can all say that he served his country, he served his State, and he served his people with matchless distinction. May all of us who serve here in the public trust which we have, when we count our blessings, count his example of greatness as the very first one.

Hon. Jamie L. Whitten
OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Speaker, having listened to the many words of praise for the wonderful record of our old friend, I can only say that I speak "off the cuff," but from the heart.

I had been in Congress only about 14 months when I had the privilege of going on a committee on which the Senator from Georgia, Richard B. Russell, had served for many years. It has been said that there is no limit to the good that you can do if you do not care who gets the credit. In a nutshell, that was the attitude of Senator Russell, one of the fine qualities among many, many others that led to his greatness. The things that he did were so great and so outstanding, however, that he did get credit in his lifetime for being a great American. In the minds of many people, of many diverse attitudes and feelings, he was one who might well have been a great President had he come from another area.

I merely wish to reaffirm the statements and join with my friends who have spoken today about this great man. One of the other fine qualities that one found about Senator Russell was that he could try his lawsuits, present his arguments, and do so in such a manner that there was never any question about his sincerity, and he never left his cause when he was through.

He had a sense of balance, a sense of fairness, a sense of dedication, and the ability to get along with people of diverse ideas and diverse groups.

Regardless of how hard he might fight for a cause, those on both sides of the aisle and on both sides of the issues never found occasion to fall out with Richard Russell. I am proud to have had the privilege of knowing Senator Russell.

As I have said before, it seems that sometimes we lose those we can least afford to give up. So truly his untimely death comes at a bad time in the history of our great Republic. But I say now again that although he is gone, the words he said and the things he did will remain a part of our current history and will serve us well in the days ahead when it looks as if division is coming upon us.

To his family and to his loved ones I extend my deepest sympathy, and I know that all of our colleagues in the Congress join in this expression of loss and in this knowledge that we will have

great help in the future from the record left by Richard B. Russell for all of us.

Hon. Ben B. Blackburn
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Georgia and with the remarks of the others of my colleagues who have spoken this afternoon.

There is always a danger on an occasion such as this of being redundant or repetitious in seeking to find words and phrases with which to describe our loss for my State and for our Nation. I am of that generation which grew up after Senator Russell had risen to prominence in public life. As a result of the difference in our ages and the result of his great activities on behalf of his Nation and his State, I never had an opportunity really to get to know Senator Russell individually as a friend. But it was my great honor to meet him on several occasions and to discuss with him matters of interest to both of us on behalf of our State as well as my district. On each occasion I found human qualities in Senator Russell—genuine courtesy, genuine friendship, deep-rooted motivation in the best interest of his country, all that speak well of any man.

I can truly say that in Senator Russell I never had any reservations about his actions or motivations. He was always motivated by the highest regard for the best interest of his country.

We have all lost a great leader. My wife and I express our condolences to the members of his family. We are all the poorer for his loss.

Hon. Dawson Mathis
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, Senator Richard Brevard Russell was one of the most outstanding and beloved figures of our time. His death is a tragic loss that will be felt not only in the State of Georgia but also throughout the Nation and the free world.

As a freshman Member of Congress who assumed office just mintues before the Senator's death, I was not privileged to know him as a colleague. But as a Georgian who had limited associations with the great statesman, I shared with millions a profound respect for his ability, his leadership, his knowledge, his talent, and his dedication to our constitutional institutions.

He possessed one particular quality that stood out above all others. He was humble. The man who rose from a proud but modest background to become one of the most brilliant legislative leaders the Nation has ever known, limited his biography in the Congressional Directory to one short line: "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

It might be said he sat in the saddle of power with grace and true humility. He was a citizen.

Senator Russell has been described as both a Senator's Senator and a President's Senator. His wise counsel was sought by more Senators and Presidents than perhaps any other man in our time. Georgians, however, best remember him as a great servant to the people he represented in the Senate of the United States. He was Georgia's most distinguished son. He understood our heritage and had confidence in our future. People listened to him, loved and admired him because they respected him.

His personal example provides for all of us here, and those who will follow, a permanent inspiration for the type of patriotic service for which this Nation will never cease to be indebted to him.

Senator Russell devoted a lifetime to outstanding public service. He will indeed be long remembered as a man of character, a patriot, and above all as a great American.

Mrs. Mathis joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to members of the Russell family.

Hon. Fred Schwengel
OF IOWA

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to join my colleagues in paying tribute to this great American who has served us all so well for so long.

The tradition we have of calling attention to the public service of our colleagues with whom we have served, who have made a contribution, is a good tradition, for it affords us an opportunity to learn even more and better about those who have been among us.

I knew Senator Russell in a very personal way. I soon found that he shared an interest with me, and with many of you and others, in the history of our country. So it was natural, then, when I

had problems involving the historical society that I head, as to bringing into reality some important aspect of history, and pictures for the book, to go to Senator Russell.

He was a traditionalist, and he was against breaking tradition until good reasons could be presented for breaking tradition.

One tradition he was against breaking was as to allowing pictures to be taken in the Senate while they were in session. But when those of us on the committee went to him and explained that our objective was to produce something that young people could take away when they visited the Capitol, and thereby understand American history better, he reordered his thinking and he then said:

> Mr. Schwengel, I was against this, and I still think I am, but I will not oppose the unanimous consent request when it is made by the leadership.

Then he went on to say:

> You know, if we could just get our young people, and all Americans, to understand our history and our heritage and the kinds of prices we have paid for liberty and freedom in periods of crises, not only would we have better American citizens, which is a great need, but also we would have greater respect on the part of other nations for America.

He was a traditionalist, but not one who was hidebound or who could not change if he saw there would be an advantage for his country.

His latest project is told in correspondence between him and me, and I believe it is appropriately revealed. He was on the great Appropriations Committee, and was its leader and a very able one. Those who have visited that principal office in the Senate have noticed the beautiful art work in that room.

His proposition was to put a window in the door, so that the boys and girls could go by there and take a look and see the Senate in session. This was his idea. I am sure if he had lived he would have carried through on it. Now we must pursue and in his memory see to it.

The point I want to make is that he loved the young people and was concerned about them, no matter their status, or color, or creed. He had a great love for these young people, and he wanted them to have the very best we had to offer.

We could go on and on. At the moment not everything occurs to me that I would like to have in the Record on this man.

I would also like to join my colleagues and many friends in paying respect to and extending sympathy to the family of Senator Russell.

Hon. Ed Edmondson

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, Senator Richard Russell was a Senator who made the U.S. Senate and the U.S. Congress stand tall in the eyes of the American people. He can truly be described as one of the giants of our time. I believe the contribution he has made to a sense of responsibility in the Halls of the U.S. Congress is a major contribution of his time.

I read just last night a remark attributed to Senator Russell that I had not heard before. It is one that seems to me to be very typical of him. This is the remark that "where the American flag is committed I am committed."

Senator Russell was that kind of a Senator. He was that kind of an American. His presence in our National Congress will be sorely missed.

Hon. Robert L. F. Sikes

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, I share the sentiments that have been expressed and the regret which so universally is felt about the death of a great American, Senator Richard Russell.

He was indeed a giant among those in government; an outstanding leader whose strength and whose dependability was very important to the orderly processes of legislation, to sound Americanism, and to the preservation of the things that made America great and which are no less essential for its continuation as a strong and free Nation.

All of my life I have known of the important contributions of the Russell family and I have respected them very highly. Yet it was Dick Russell who captured popular imagination and who stood out as a strong and able young crusader of good government. As the years passed and as he came to accept greater and greater responsibility, the true measure of the man became fully evident. Senator Russell, for his achievements and his contributions, deservedly held the confidence of the Nation's leaders at all levels. But he never

lost contact with the people back home, and throughout his life he enjoyed the highest measure of confidence from those whom he represented.

Honored and respected among his colleagues and elevated to high places in the U.S. Senate, he also enjoyed the respect and esteem of people all over America, and I think it must be said that no one among us in government stands out as Dick Russell stood out.

This Nation needed him during his lifetime; it needs his strength and influence now. I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that the good work he did during a lifetime of dedicated service has built a lasting monument which will serve as a shining beacon to guide and help all of us as we go about our efforts for a better America on tomorrow.

I shall miss a good friend. America will miss a great statesman.

Hon. Henry B. Gonzalez

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, Richard B. Russell, dean of the Senate, President pro tempore of the Senate, and chairman of its Committee on Appropriations, is dead.

Richard Russell served in the Senate from 1933 up until the moment of his death. Before that he was Governor of the State of Georgia. And before that he served in the Georgia Legislature. He was a man who served his State for a full lifetime. Few have ever been accorded as many honors and offices as this man. Few ever equaled his influence in his own State, or in the Senate.

Such men's passing leave great gaps. He made his mark, and he will be missed.

He championed national defense and we are all in his debt for that.

Senator Russell will be missed by the Senate, by Congress, by the people of Georgia, and by the country. It is a sad day when we lose a man of such long service, such energy, and such tenacity and skill.

He served well, and that is the best any man can hope to do. It was the great fortune of the country to have such a man, and it is a great misfortune to lose such a man.

Hon. Fletcher Thompson

OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of those who have spoken before me.

Mr. Speaker, there was no greater Georgian than Richard B. Russell and there was no greater American than Richard B. Russell. Truly as a Georgian he loved Georgia as much as any Georgian could and as an American he loved America as much as any American could. Mr. Speaker, when I had occasion to go to the White House about a year ago the President made this statement. He said "Were it not for some of the Senators such as Richard B. Russell this country would be in a very weak position." He knew he could depend upon Senator Russell and others like him in the Senate to support the maintenance of a strong military posture for America, because through maintaining a strong military posture we can also maintain peace.

Richard Russell was conceded by all to be the most powerful Member of the U.S. Senate. He derived this power by his strength. He derived it by his ability. He derived it by the respect that the other Members of this body and the other body had for him.

Mr. Speaker, whenever I had occasion to call upon the Senator for help, he gave it readily. This was the reason that he had his strength, because he was always ready, he was always ready to assist, he was always ready to counsel.

So far back as I can remember Richard Russell has been a Senator from the State of Georgia, and so far back as I can remember the people of the State of Georgia have always respected this great American.

On Friday when his body was returned to the Georgia State capitol I was present, and I listened to the remarks of the people in the crowd. We in Georgia have never been as proud of any Georgian as we were of Richard Russell. I know that the State legislators, those in the general assembly who were gathered there, had genuine sorrow, and they recognized the tremendous loss that was occasioned by the death of the senior Senator from Georgia. Then, yesterday as we stood in the rain and listened to the distinguished Americans talk about Richard Russell, one could sense in the crowd a great sense of loss.

Yes; we in Georgia are the poorer and we in the Nation are the poorer because of the death of this great American. But what he has stood for and what he has done will go on long beyond this day or last Thursday.

I consider myself very fortunate to have known him, to have been able to seek his counsel.

My sympathy and that of my family goes out to his family. I cannot help but feel that Richard Russell is this day looking over this body and the other body because, certainly, he led the type of life that earned for him a place in God's world.

Hon. George H. Mahon
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of this distinguished American. The outpouring of respect and adoration which has been evidenced nationwide is heartening. It is good to see that our people respect and honor a man of the stature of the late Richard Russell.

It was my privilege through many years of service here to sit in conferences with him on the defense appropriation bill, always the largest money bill of each session. I treasure the memory of working with him in our effort to keep our Nation strong. The dedication of this man to the national interest was unsurpassed.

Richard Russell held dear those virtues which made our country great. He stood firm and steadfast for true principles.

He was without question one of the great statesmen of this century. He was a leader in all administrations during which he served. He was frequently called upon for advice and counsel by the Presidents of his time. I know personally of the high esteem in which he was held by leaders of government during the past three decades.

His forceful personality, his understanding of complex issues, and his dedication to his country and the body in which he served were outstanding.

Words cannot adequately pay tribute to this man, but I do want to join with my colleagues and with many others in the Nation in a salute to the memory of this distinguished Georgian.

Hon. Alton Lennon
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Speaker, I believe history will recall that no one has ever served in the Congress in either body during the history of our Nation who was held in higher esteem, respect and trust, than Senator Richard Russell.

I believe it was Emerson who said, in his essay on friendship, that trust is a true test of friendship, and that is certainly why all of the people who were privileged to know him learned to love him, to admire him, and to respect him.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I can speak not only for myself, because I did have the wonderful privilege of enjoying his close personal friendship during my interim appointment in the Senate, but for all North Carolinians, regardless of their political views, who esteemed and respected Senator Russell. That is something that will always bring happiness and gratification to me.

Just 2 nights ago, when one of our most distinguished national commentators made the statement that it was unlikely that history would produce again in the lifetime of most of us living today another man of the stature of Richard Russell, I said "Amen, good Lord, amen."

Hon. William M. Colmer
OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Speaker, Dick Russell and I came to the Congress together in 1933. During those years, it has been my high privilege to be associated and work with this great statesman. He was my friend. President Nixon, in eulogizing this son of the South, said that, had he been born in a different age, he would have become President of the United States. I should like to add that, had he been born in some other section of our great country, he would surely have become President.

In my sincere desire to pay a fitting tribute to our former comrade and dedicated statesman, the late Senator Richard Russell, after considerable thought I have come to the conclusion that I am incapable of putting into words the deep appreciation I have for this great statesman who served his country so well and so ably for approximately 50 years as Governor of a great State and as a U.S. Senator. Therefore, I am paraphrasing the tribute of one who was capable of expressing the

tribute which I thought was deserving of another great American on a former occasion.

Mr. Speaker, in 1874, nearly 100 years ago, Senator Benjamin H. Hill also a Senator from the great State of Georgia paid the most beautiful tribute to a great General of the Confederacy and possibly one of the most noble Americans who ever graced American history, Gen. Robert E. Lee, of Virginia. In so doing, I do not feel that I am in any wise diminishing the character or image of the almost incomparable Lee. General Lee was not only a great general, but he was also a great American. Therefore in paraphrasing this most eloquent tribute to our lamented friend Dick Russell, I am merely substituting statesman for general. In other respects, the tribute to Senator Russell is the same as Senator Hill's to the immortal Lee.

The paraphrased tribute is as follows: "When the future historian shall come to survey the character of Richard Russell he will find it rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plain of humanity, and he must lift his eyes high toward heaven to catch its summit.

"He possessed every virtue of other great statesmen without their vices. He was a foe without hate; a friend without treachery; a statesman without cruelty; a victor without oppression; and a victim without murmuring.

"He was a public officer without vices; a private citizen without wrong; a neighbor without reproach; a Christian without hypocrisy; and a man without guile.

"He was Caesar, without his ambition; Frederick, without his tyranny; Napoleon, without his selfishness; and Washington, without his reward. He was obedient to authority as a servant, and royal in authority as a true king.

"He was gentle as a woman in life; modest and pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates, and grand in battle as Achilles."

Hon. Joe L. Evins

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, certainly I want to join with my colleagues from Georgia and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of Senator Richard B. Russell, the dean of the U.S. Senate.

Senator Russell lived a full and useful life, dedicated to the public interest and the national interest. He represented the people of Georgia faithfully and ably, and he represented the Nation with the highest order of statesmanship.

Senator Russell has been called a giant among giants—and certainly he was an outstanding Senator—capable, conscientious, personable, articulate and highly respected, beloved and esteemed.

Senator Russell was chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Appropriations and had a keen grasp of government and its obligations of service to people throughout the Nation. His influence was immense. I have seen this fact evidenced in appropriation conferences between the two Houses when the Senator received for his State of Georgia that which he wished even in his absence because of illness.

With all his power, Senator Russell was a modest and unassuming man. In the Congressional Directory by the name of Richard Brevard Russell, he listed only this biographical information: "Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

Senator Russell was a southern statesman with a keen perception of the impact of change and adjustment on the South and the entire Nation. He fought courageously for principles in which he believed.

As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee from 1951 to 1969—a period of 18 years—he made great contributions to a strong national defense. In 1969 he became chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, and President pro tempore of the Senate, a position that put him third in line for succession to the Presidency. He would have made a great President.

Senator Richard Russell was an outstanding Senator. He was a grand gentleman and a great American—he will be greatly missed.

The Nation mourns this passing of a great statesman.

Hon. Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Speaker, the life of the late Senator Richard B. Russell is a classic example of public service. Scarcely was he old enough to vote when he entered public service, beginning the 50 year

span of public life which was to become a symbol of integrity and leadership. And even in his last days, as he battled for life, he still played a pivotal role in the affairs of the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, here is truly a man for our youth to emulate. Although he was a son of a distinguished and illustrious Georgia family, he was not from a background of wealth. He was elected at an early age to the Georgia House of Representatives where he later became speaker. In 1930, at age 32, he was elected Governor of Georgia. He was Governor during the great depression, and his administration became a model for the Nation because of his determined effort to cut costs and to streamline governmental departments. In 1933, Richard B. Russell was elected to the Senate of the United States.

In the brief span of 12 years he made the unprecedented transition from freshman member to speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, to Governor of the State and on to serve as U.S. Senator.

Despite his wealth of experience, he was then the youngest man in the Senate. He was to serve continuously in the Senate, serving in that body for more than half of his entire life. Much has been written about the quality of his leadership in the Senate, about his integrity, his intelligence and his mastery of every parliamentary situation. All this is of course, accurate; and it was during his Senate service with the great Senator Walter George and, later, with my good friend Herman E. Talmadge, that Georgia gained the reputation of being one of the best represented States in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, in speaking of the personal characteristics of the late Senator, we think of his quiet, almost noble manner. He was always a totally reliable source of information. He was dignified, yet he was always approachable to render advice or assistance. Mr. Speaker, my wife was once a reporter for a national news magazine and in that capacity contacted many national leaders. She was, however, so impressed by the Senator's intelligence and integrity that she actively worked in efforts carried on in his behalf for higher office. And it was for me a distinct honor and privilege to campaign in some preferential primaries for the Senator.

It has been remarked many times that his chances for higher office were stymied primarily by the fact of his sectional origin. This was a loss for the Nation, but it did result in his service in the Senate over a period of many years. And as I have remarked many times, Mr. Speaker—and no one has a higher respect than I for the office of the Presidency—a man of the ability of Senator Richard Russell who serves in the Congress for a period of years can have as great a long-range effect on the course of our national history as the President himself.

The State of Georgia, and indeed the entire Southland, benefitted tangibly by Senator Russell's years of service. Georgia is truly the "Empire State of the South," being the largest State east of the Mississippi. During the time of his service the State began the transition from an agricultural to a diversified economy. Georgia's favorable climate, geography, and population patterns, together with the influence of her Representatives in Congress made the State a leader in national defense installations. And with these magnificent installations came huge additional investments by private enterprise. Still another example, and one that closely affects the people of my district on the other side of the Savannah River was Senator Russell's leadership in the development of the entire Savannah River basin. His own home at Winder was not far from the great river, and he well understood the magnificent possibilities now reaching fruition in various development projects. And even outside his own State, he could play a crucial role, as he did in helping to protect the Clemson University campus from flooding and in helping to make possible a $1 billion nuclear power development in my district.

This economic development was a great source of pride to the Senator because, as I mentioned, he came into public service at a time when the South was, in the description used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Gainesville, Ga., the Nation's number one economic problem. But through his efforts our region now boasts a growth rate above the national average.

Mr. Speaker, Richard B. Russell was the son of a cultured family which prized education; his father served as the chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court. Today the magnificent facilities of the University of Georgia are among the examples of Richard Russell's concern for education. One of the Senator's greatest contributions was the hot lunch program in our public schools,

a program that has meant so much to families and children all over the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, my people feel that they have lost a leader and a friend. Senator Richard B. Russell was respected and admired by my people as were few other Americans, as his hometown of Winder is not far across the Savannah from my district. My constituents, Mrs. Dorn and my children join me in extending to the Russell family and to the people of Georgia my respect and deepest sympathy.

Hon. Charles E. Bennett

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the late Senator Russell was one of the few men in history who possessed all of what I would call the Washingtonian virtues: Real leadership, courtliness, manliness, courage, perseverance, and Christian humility. I treasured his friendship and all America has lost in his passing a truly magnificent leader. His life will properly inspire generations to come. The following editorials from the Florida Times-Union and the Jacksonville Journal are well deserved tributes to this departed statesman:

[From the Florida Times-Union, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL: A GIANT PASSES

There was something almost Wagnerian in the death of Georgia's Sen. Richard Brevard Russell on the day and near the hour that the United States Congress, which he loved and honored above all earthly institutions, convened in its 92nd biennial term.

The dean and president pro tempore of the Senate, in in which he had served without interruption since 1933, died at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center where he had been under treatment since Dec. 8.

Sen. Russell, who also served as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, to which he succeeded after many years as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, without question wielded as much influence in Washington as any other man in Congress of either party.

Sen. Russell sprang from a large Georgia family distinguished for its public service. He was the son and namesake of one of the most distinguished Chief Justices in the history of the Georgia State Supreme Court.

The younger Richard was the youngest man ever to be elected Governor of his state at 33, after winning his political spurs as a county attorney, member of the state legislature, and speaker of the legislative House of Representatives.

As ranking member or chairman of the two most powerful Senate committees during and after the war years, Sen. Russell was privy to more national defense secrets than any other member of Congress, but he won and held the complete confidence of all the Presidents and high military commands with whom he worked for his ability never to violate a confidence, large or small.

But while walking with kings, Dick Russell never lost the common touch. As precious in his eyes as the integrity of the United States Congress were his family and friends and neighbors throughout the state of Georgia with whom he kept in close and constant touch, and especially those closest to him in and around his ancestral home in the little town of Winder, near Atlanta.

The Senator enjoyed these family reunions as much or more than his mother and his many brothers and sisters, but he himself never married. He buried himself as completely as possible in his public service out of love for the institution of which he was a member, but most of all out of love for the country he was privileged to serve in high office.

Russell was not without his critics and political enemies, but no one ever dared attack him on any level other than legitimate differences of opinion or political philosophy.

It was frequently said of him by his friends and associates that the accident of his Southern origin was the only major bar to any aspirations he might have had for the Presidency.

Sen. Russell will be long remembered and honored in the Senate to which he gave long and valued service, and in his state and throughout the South of which he was a towering symbol. It is regrettable that the nation as a whole probably will never know the extent of his contribution to the preservation of the principles laid down by the founding fathers.

[From the Jacksonville Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

RUSSELL WAS RARE

The nation shares the immense loss of the state of Georgia, in the passing of Sen. Richard B. Russell, one of the last of the courtly gentleman of a sadly passed era.

Dean of the United States Senate with 38 years of service since being elected at the age of 35, Dick Russell had become not only one of the most powerful men in government as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, but—and far more importantly—he was one of the most respected among his colleagues.

Russell was never a headline seeker, but his fight to preserve states rights projected him into a battle with President Harry S. Truman that culminated in the South's famed walk-out of the 1948 Democratic convention. The irony is that although Russell fought Truman hard on his civil rights platform he refused to be a States Right party candidate against the Democratic nominee and supported the President once he had received the nomination. The South did not support Truman, giving him but 13 of 278 votes, and considerable votes went to Russell, who did not seek them.

Russell was a shy man socially, electing to spend his time engaged more in hard work than as a steady attendant of the Washington merry-go-round of cocktail

parties and sophisticated dinners. He was not at ease meeting the public and often seemed too formal in a profession that thrives on the facade of familiarity and feigned interest.

He was successful because his people knew him to be real and competent. And a man of unusual integrity and ability.

Six presidents depended upon his wisdom and guidance as chairman of the all-important Senate Armed Services Committee. He did not hesitate to voice his opinion whether or not it was the politically "right" thing to do at the time.

He remained a bachelor, but extremely close to his family in the little country town of Winder, Ga., not far from the University of Georgia where he took his law degree and first went forth to serve his fellow man.

The proof that he served them and his country to a degree all-too-often rare in our government's history can be found in the words of those in power who knew—and who salute Richard Brevard Russell for a job well done.

Hon. Jack Brooks
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, one of the brightest aspects of serving in the U.S. Congress is that we are privileged to serve with so many distinguished and able individuals. On both sides of the Capitol and on both sides of the aisles, one finds a remarkable degree of dedication and ability.

Certainly, one of the noblest of these men was the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia. Dick Russell was a gentleman, an American, a statesman and, in every fine sense, a politician. We in the House of Representatives share the sense of loss being experienced by the other body. Senator Russell had his impact on all of us and on every district in our country. He was a strong advocate to have on one's side and he was truly a formidable adversary—but whatever his position, no one ever doubted his devotion to principle and what he truly believed was best for our Nation.

We shall all miss the gentleman from Georgia and our deepest sympathy goes out to his family and to the Georgians he served so well and loved so dearly.

Hon. Edward J. Derwinski
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, Senator Richard Russell was truly a giant among men. Those of us who had the opportunity to work with him in the legislative branch instinctively recognized his tremendous ability, integrity, and dedication to sound principles of government. Senator Russell was not in any sense a parochial or regional leader. He was dedicated to the best interest of all Americans and this was especially so in his concept of what was needed for us to maintain a strong national defense.

I join the many Members of the House who are paying respect to his memory this afternoon and emphasize that his leadership will be missed. He was an unusually effective legislative leader, a fact which so many Members have attested to this afternoon.

Hon. John J. Rooney
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I was truly grieved to learn of the passing of the Honorable Richard B. Russell, the senior Senator from Georgia. I had the great privilege of knowing Dick Russell for all the years that I have been in Congress. We traveled abroad together and over the years served together on many, many conference committees on appropriations bills. His loss is a deep personal one to me for I can honestly say that I have seldom met a man I respected more or more deeply admired. Dick Russell was a true giant. His honor and integrity and sense of ethics and mores should stand as a model to all of us and as a monument to the U.S. Senate in which he served for almost 40 years. Dick Russell was a true statesman in the finest sense of the word. He was a man who loved his country and the Senate and they both returned that love. He was a gentleman, always, a man of rich tradition of which he was justly proud. And he was above all a marvelous human being; we shall not see his like again and we will miss him. To his family I extend my deepest sympathy in their time of great loss.

Hon. G. Elliott Hagan
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, Senator Richard Russell was a man whose principles, integrity, ability, and almost legendary power have been so instrumental

and so important a part of the U.S. Senate and the perpetuation of the American way of life that we cannot possibly recount all of his fine efforts and accomplishments.

Now that he has passed from this life and has gone on to take his well-deserved and predetermined place in history, I feel tremendously proud to say before my colleagues here in the House that I am honored and privileged to have called this great man my friend.

Oftentimes in these Chambers we have occasion to meet and work alongside men of fine character and wondrous deeds, but there is no doubt that Senator Russell will go down in history as one of the most noble citizens the American Nation has ever known.

A great patriot, an outstanding statesman and unparalleled leader, Senator Russell's long and illustrious political career will stand as the criterion for future public servants in the years to come.

William S. White, in his "A Symbol of a Tragedy" said it best. I feel his words cannot be improved on nor embellished:

> It used to be said, and truthfully, that it was the South which would not allow the Civil War to be forgotten. But is it not now—and has not long since been—the other way round? When the Senate says farewell to Richard Russell something much more than the Senate will have been deprived. So, too, will have been the United States of America.

Hon. Robert N. Giaimo

OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, on rare occasions leaders rise to speak for their beliefs and grow beyond the confines of region or philosophy. Richard Brevard Russell did that, but now he is gone. A great public servant, national statesman, and patriot has passed on. A man of strong convictions and honor, he fought hard to defend the right as he saw it. He worked hard to defend the national honor as he perceived it. A conservative by nature and inclination, he was not stamped from a rigid mold, but he did have that rare quality—fundamental honesty. With cautious good judgment, he warned Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy against involvement in the war now raging in Southeast Asia. Once in, he became a staunch defender of hitting hard and expediting withdrawal. He was no "Monday morning quarterback." He taught many another public servant more "liberal" than he by example. He was a legislator's legislator.

Mr. Speaker, I had not the opportunity to know the late Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, well, but it was my privilege to have witnessed his leadership firsthand. Watching him from my context—that of a northeastern constituency and from the House of Representatives—we often disagreed. Yet, to quote Senator Russell's own tribute to the late President John F. Kennedy:

> Among his other admirable attributes, he was a man of tolerance and understanding. He fought hard for those things in which he believed, but he well knew that all men would not see the same issue in the same light. He would have been the last to have expected anyone to stultify conviction merely to conform to his opinions.

May we learn from his example greater tolerance for those with whom we disagree, and may we resume a meaningful national dialog on crucial issues. May he rest in peace.

Hon. Robert L. F. Sikes

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the recent death of Georgia's Senator Richard Brevard Russell has brought forth a great many eulogies and tributes to this outstanding statesman, and one of the most discerning and appealing in my eyes appeared in the Florida Times-Union newspaper of Jacksonville and is being reprinted in the Congressional Record today for the benefit of my colleagues:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Florida Times-Union]

RICHARD RUSSELL: A GIANT PASSES

There was something almost Wagnerian in the death of Georgia's Sen. Richard Brevard Russell on the day and near the hour that the United States Congress, which he loved and honored above all earthly institutions, convened in its 92nd biennial term.

The dean and president pro tempore of the Senate, in which he had served without interruption since 1933, died at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center where he had been under treatment since Dec. 8.

Sen. Russell, who also served as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, to which he succeeded after many years as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, without question wielded as much influence in Washington as any other man in Congress of either party.

Sen. Russell sprang from a large Georgia family distinguished for its public service. He was the son and namesake of one of the most distinguished Chief Justices in the history of the Georgia State Supreme Court.

The younger Richard was the youngest man ever to be elected Governor of his state at 33, after winning his political spurs as a county attorney, member of the state legislature, and speaker of the legislative House of Representatives.

As ranking member or chairman of the two most powerful Senate committees during and after the war years, Sen. Russell was privy to more national defense secrets than any other member of Congress, but he won and held the complete confidence of all the Presidents and high military commands with whom he worked for his ability never to violate a confidence, large or small.

But while walking with kings, Dick Russell never lost the common touch. As precious in his eyes as the integrity of the United States Congress were his family and friends and neighbors throughout the state of Georgia with whom he kept in close and constant touch, and especially those closest to him in and around his ancestral home in the little town of Winder, near Atlanta.

The Senator enjoyed these family reunions as much or more than his mother and his many brothers and sisters, but he himself never married. He buried himself as completely as possible in his public service out of love for the institution of which he was a member, but most of all out of love for the country he was privileged to serve in high office.

Russell was not without his critics and political enemies, but no one ever dared attack him on any level other than legitimate differences of opinion or political philosophy.

It was frequently said of him by his friends and associates that the accident of his Southern origin was the only major bar to any aspirations he might have had for the Presidency.

Sen. Russell will be long remembered and honored in the Senate to which he gave long and valued service, and in his state and throughout the South of which he was a towering symbol. It is regrettable that the nation as a whole probably will never know the extent of his contribution to the preservation of the principles laid down by the founding fathers.

Hon. James C. Corman

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of personal loss that I mourn the death of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

Senator Russell served five U.S. Presidents with equal devotion. He served in difficult times, times when there were swift changes in the world, always upholding the highest tradition of public service.

He was a statesman of courage and commitment. He was a wise and strong leader. He was a man of consistent and unwavering integrity.

Senator Russell had the respect and esteem of us all. We will miss him.

Hon. Richard Bolling

OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying my respects to a patriotic American and a great Georgian. During the 1950's and the 1960's I had many opportunities to observe the fine intelligence, great abilities and enormous influence of the late Senator Russell. Without question, as others have said, in another time, he could and, perhaps, would have been President of the United States. He had greater power in the U.S. Senate for a longer period of time than any Senator of this century. Like Robert E. Lee his first loyalty was to his State and to its people.

Hon. Robert G. Stephens, Jr.

OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, when Senator Russell died on January 21, it was a great loss for Georgia, America, and the free world. He was the outstanding leader for the defense of America. His work as chairman of the Armed Services Committee kept America strong and this might of the United States has been the protector of large and small nations which desire peace and independence.

It is true that Dick Russell wielded enormous power. Never did he use that power for his own selfish gain. He dedicated his power to the enhancement of the greatness of America and its democratic institutions. Georgia was fortunate to have had the services of Senator Russell for so long a time—as a legislator, house speaker, Governor, and U.S. Senator.

In my 10 years of service in Congress, I have called on him many times for help. He was always responsive, cordial and effective in providing that help.

Senator Russell's love for his alma mater, the University of Georgia, was unlimited. He envisaged the potential in Athens for an agricultural research center. I was serving in our Georgia Legislature at the time when Senator Russell cited the need for the State to develop its part first. We in the legislature provided $14 million to build a science center at the State university and upon that foundation Senator Russell went to work to get Federal projects to expand it. As a result of his energy, efforts and leadership,

there is now no finer agricultural research center anywhere else in the southeast. It is a monument to Senator Russell.

Georgia will miss Dick Russell in the years to come. I will miss him in Washington. I extend my sympathy to his family and the people of Georgia.

Hon. Jack Edwards

OF ALABAMA

Mr. Speaker, death, the ever present enemy, has snuffed out the life of one of the greatest public servants the South, and the Nation, have ever known.

Senator Richard B. Russell was more than a dynamic legislator and an outstanding parliamentarian; he was a beacon in the night on the raging high seas of countless national crises this Nation encountered during his tenure of office.

A leader of men, he represented the interests of Americans as few other Members of the U.S. Senate have so unselfishly during the past century. What he was in life, his memory will emblazon across the pages of American history for many hundreds of years to come.

For those who knew Richard Russell, his death comes at a time when his vision, courage, and perseverance will be missed the most. Those were his credentials and those were the qualities which made him great.

Mr. Speaker, in memory of this great American, I would like to submit a copy of an editorial the Mobile Press-Register carried following his death:

[From the Mobile (Ala.) Press Register]

RUSSELL'S DEATH IS LOSS TO NATION

The U.S. Senate has lost a great statesman, one who was more than a mere champion of the section from which he came.

We refer, of course, to Sen. Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia, whose eminence in the legislative branch of government has been recognized in this country and abroad.

Sen. Russell was a champion of the South and the United States as a whole.

His death in Walter Reed Hospital of respiratory problems, complicated by emphysema is deeply mourned, and great interest will center around who will be selected to fill his big shoes as president pro tem of the Senate.

Whomever he is had best begin studying up on parliamentary law, for the Georgia bachelor had mastered the subject and used the knowledge to steer his colleagues through many stormy sessions that produced constructive results. He was an unquestioned patriot and believed in defending the U.S. Constitution, much to the displeasure of many of his Senate colleagues.

We think it is in keeping with the modest nature of Senator Russell that his body lies in state in Georgia's Capitol today, instead of the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol building, awaiting funeral services Sunday in his hometown of Winder, Ga.

A giant of a man has been taken by death, and America will miss him.

Hon. W. S. (Bill) Stuckey

OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, America has lost one of its greatest patriots. The State of Georgia has lost the greatest leader in its history.

Senator Richard B. Russell was a strong constitutionalist, a champion of States' Rights and the leader of the southern bloc. His vision was clearer than most people's hindsight. In Washington he was known affectionately as the "Senator's Senator."

Just as his service in the Georgia General Assembly, where he was speaker of the House for 4 years and his service as Governor of Georgia, Senator Russell's achievements in the U.S. Senate can only be covered in the chapters of our U.S. history, where he will hold a place of prominence.

Senator Russell was a statesman in the truest sense of the word. He served his State and his country with dedication and with dignity. He was a gentleman throughout his political career, and he was indeed deserving of the high respect with which he was held by his colleagues in public office, his friends, his family, and his country. We will miss Senator Russell. I believe that he will always be with us in spirit.

Hon. James A. Haley

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me, in expressing my sorrow at the death of Richard Brevard Russell, to extol his matchless record as a Member of the U.S. Senate. That record speaks for itself—Senator Russell was always and essentially a man of the Senate. The institution became his life and he became an institution within an institution. He was the

youngest Member of that body when he entered it in 1933, and at his death he was, and had been for many years, undoubtedly its most respected Member.

He was, in fact, so respected—that it was many times said that Senator Russell could have been President of these United States had he not been a Southerner, and I am among those who believe that this is so. But certainly he was hugely influential in his own quiet way in his many years in the Senate. He was a champion of military preparedness and he was an internationalist—but he was never a militarist. He opposed military intervention in the affairs of other countries time and again—but as he said, when his flag was "committed" he too was "committed" to its support as chairman for 15 years of the Armed Services Committee. Nor was Richard Russell ever a racist—he was a traditionalist—a distinction well respected by his colleagues in the Senate, of whatever party or whatever political thought.

But rather than praising Richard Russell's career as a Senator, for it needs no praise, I would prefer to say a few words about the man, Richard Russell, whom I had the privilege of knowing even before I came to the House of Representatives some 18 years ago.

Senator Russell was a personable man with a fine, if perhaps little known, sense of humor. His wit was philosophic and sometimes caustic, often keyed to the unique southern brand of storytelling. He was courtly in a way that is seldom witnessed anymore, even in his native South. Associates recall that he found it difficult to show the slightest sign of rudeness or impatience, even when they were justified.

This was a man who applied a set of rules to most aspects of his personal life. To the end, his life-style remained simple, even spartan, contemptuous of waste and frivolity, and dedicated to the proposition that anything pretentious, or expensive, was an insult to necessity. He just hesitated to go along with anything that did not fit into the simple way of life he learned as a boy in North Georgia and kept with him until his death.

Richard Russell was a man who loved his family—his unbroken record attendance of its annual reunions was legendary. He also loved his State, his country, his fellow Americans, and he dedicated his life to all of these. The Nation will be poorer without him.

Hon. O. C. Fisher

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, the death of 73-year-old Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia involved a greater loss to the Nation than the average citizen can possibly realize.

So great was the Senator's ability and his statesmanship, it is believed by many that had Russell lived north of the Mason-Dixon line he would have been President long ago. It is known that six different Presidents often sought his advice and guidance on big issues.

Richard Russell was rated as one of the last of the big men in the Senate. Only a few years back there was Vandenberg, Taft, Byrd, Tydings, Dirksen—all now gone to their reward. They were great. Yet Russell seemed the greatest of all. Geography and fate separated him from the White House.

Most of these men—as was true of such statesmen as Webster, Borah, Bailey, Norris, and La-Follette—reached their peak during senior years. But age alone was not the reason. They were great in younger years as well. This fact serves to expose the fallacy of those who would discount the value of seniority.

Russell was a recognized expert on military matters. On occasions I served on conference committees when he headed Senate conferences on defense bills. Always Dick Russell was the wise man, the man of logic, knowledge, and reason, who seemed to come up with the best possible answers.

The Senator's ability to analyze and foresee the effect of emotional legislation was uncanny. Where others thought in terms of expediency, Russell applied logic and reason.

Dick Russell was a true patriot. He loved America and its heritage. On those principles he never wavered. Free of demagoguery, he was a man of principle and always operated on that level. Unfortunately, there are far too few to take his place at a time when such statesmanship is needed more than ever.

Hon. John R. Rarick
OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in tribute to a friend and colleague, a distinguished American patriot, a Christian, and a Southern gentleman, the Senator from Georgia, the late Hon. Richard B. Russell. The Congress of the United States and the American people lost a most competent and dedicated leader with the death of Senator Russell.

The United States has been well and faithfully served by many illustrious statesmen from the State of Georgia, but none has been more dedicated to the preservation of our Constitutional Republic, the perpetuation of individual liberty under God and the enhancement of America's destined role in world leadership than Senator Russell.

From his election to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1920 at the age of 22, until his death on January 21 at the age of 73, Russell was a devoted public servant. Humility, honesty, and integrity were foremost among the many virtues exemplified by Senator Russell through his words and actions.

While participating in many Senate debates, Senator Russell was a loquacious exponent of the rights reserved to the people and to the States by the ninth and tenth amendments, respectively. Throughout his 38 years in the U.S. Senate, Russell always remained true to his oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States of America.

Senator Russell toiled diligently for a strong military defense for the Nation and the free world, championed the cause of the American serviceman, and was considered the most eminent authority on military matters. He was widely acclaimed by his fellow Senators of both parties and from all regions of America for his honesty, ability, and integrity.

Senator Russell believed that the law should apply equally in all States and to all Americans and that laws applicable in Southern States should likewise be enforced in Northern States. He served as leader and chief strategist of the Southern bloc of Senators who opposed the so-called civil rights bills of recent years. Senator Russell's opposition to these bills was based primarily on his conviction that they were contrary to the Constitution, politically inspired, and punitive in nature against the people of the South.

At the time of his death, Senator Russell was third in line of succession to the office of President of the United States. Former President Truman in his memoirs wrote:

> If Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been President of the United States.

This same idea was expressed recently by Senator Mike Mansfield.

In a previous era before the decline of Constitutional government in America, many illustrious southerners served as President. These included George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, William H. Harrison, John Tyler, and Andrew Johnson. They protected, strengthened, and advanced our great Constitutional Republic and kept America truly "the land of the free and the home of the brave." It is my belief that had Senator Richard B. Russell, a great American and southerner, served as President, the security of our country against foreign aggressors and the preservation of this great constitutional Republic would not be in jeopardy today.

To his surviving relatives, the people of the Sixth District of Louisiana join me in extending our deepest sympathy in this their hour of bereavement, reminding them that their loss is also borne by every free man throughout the world who labors for liberty, honor, and justice.

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime.
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time;
>
> Footprints, that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main.
> A forelorn and shipwrecked brother.
> Seeing, shall take heart again.
>
> Let us, then, be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate;
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labor and to wait.

Hon. Dawson Mathis
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator Richard Brevard Russell has brought forth tributes from

Americans of all walks of life and all sections of the country.

It is well worthwhile for those who knew the Senator best to share their thoughts and impressions of this great American so that his memory will be preserved for generations yet unborn.

My good friend and constituent, Albert Riley of Thomasville, Ga., has combined his journalistic skill with his intimate recollections into a most impressive article about the late Senator. As a Washington correspondent for 10 years and as a lifel ng Georgian, he followed Senator Russell's career closely.

I am pleased to share with my colleagues and all those who read the Record the following article which appeared in the January 22, 1971, edition of the Thomasville Times-Enterprise.

[From the Thomasville (Ga.) Times-Enterprise, Jan. 22, 1971]

RUSSELL: SENATE HERO FROM SOUTH

(By Albert Riley)

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

Although millions of words have been written about him, that short one line, stating his name, party affiliation and home town, is the only biography Sen. Russell would ever permit to be published in the "Congressional Directory."

Yet, this great man has to go down in history as the outstanding Senator and one of the greatest of the great leaders of our time.

It was my good fortune to spend ten exciting years in Washington, from 1956 to 1966, and to be in a position to observe at close hand the Senate leadership of Dick Russell and to know the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues and by the press.

Although he was later to assume even more power as Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the prestige of becoming the dean and President pro tem of the Senate, by 1956 he already had achieved an unparalleled position of leadership, influence and respect.

This I know, first hand. No U.S. Senator of our time has ever been more highly respected, admired and even revered by his colleagues of the Senate press gallery than Richard Brevard Russell.

Integrity, I think, was perhaps the key word for the esteem in which he was held. As well as ability, wisdom, parliamentary skill and his unfailing courtesy.

Many so-called "liberal" Senators, like Paul Douglas of Illinois, Joe Clark of Pennsylvania, and Jacob Javits of New York, tangled often and sharply with Sen. Russell and fought him tooth and claw in bitter debates over civil rights legislation.

But he never lost their respect and seemed to command from them also a grudging admiration and even affection.

To my knowledge, he never had a personal enemy in the Senate, or anywhere else. And I never heard a newspaperman in Washington ever make a derogatory remark about Russell of Georgia.

Indeed, if Dick Russell had been from some other section of the nation outside the South, he might well have become President of the United States. Certainly, in the opinion of some of our country's top leaders, no man of our time has been better qualified to be President than Dick Russell, except for the accident of his birth having been below the Mason and Dixon line.

Former President Lyndon Johnson, who was Russell's protege in the Senate and rose to Majority Leader of the Senate because of Russell's influence, recognized the Georgian's abilities and qualities of leadership perhaps as much as any other man.

When Johnson was Vice-President he often remarked to intimates that Russell would be the first choice for President if a majority of his colleagues were asked to name the man best equipped for the job.

Harry Truman wrote: "I believe that if Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky he may very well have been President."

Even Sen. Joseph Clark, the Pennsylvania "liberal" Democrat who fought Russell so bitterly on civil rights, was quoted in 1963 by "Newsweek" magazine as saying that "if Russell hadn't come from Georgia he would have had a better chance to be President than Harry Truman or John F. Kennedy. He's a political animal in the best sense of the word and a first class gentleman."

Russell was not ashamed of his birth as a Georgian but proud of it. The mantle of leadership of the Southern bloc in the Senate was thrust upon him as he became their commander in a seemingly never ending series of rear guard skirmishes with northern "liberals" over civil rights legislation that Russell genuinely believed to be wrong. It was, however, an unpopular stand nationally and a lost cause.

But Russell remained always not just a Southern hero in the Senate but a Senate hero who happened to be from the South.

In 1957, Time magazine in a cover story on Russell had this to say about the Georgian:

"With incomparable style he translates his Southern virtues and personal virtues—courage, courtesy, consistency, consideration for others, hard work and good faith, sense of history—into the equipment needed to belong to, even to dominate the Senate's influential 'Inner Club.'"

William S. White, the nationally syndicated columnist, onetime New York Timesman, author and longtime Senate observer, called Russell "the truest Senate type and most influential man on the inner life of the Senate."

As Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Russell had much to say about the defenses of this country and its foreign policy, long before he succeeded to the most powerful post of all, that of Appropriations Committee Chairman.

In both of those capabilities, Sen. Russell never forgot his home state of Georgia, nor even Thomasville in making his people the beneficiaries of his knowledge and power and influence.

But, many thousands of words are being written today about Russell of Georgia and are being moved over the wires of the Associated Press, UPI, the national TV and

radio networks and other news media from their Washington bureaus.

Therefore, I will not here attempt to write Senator Russell's obituary. It would in many respects be repetitious of what the wires are carrying into this newspaper office and thousands of others all across this land.

But since I had the high honor and the rare privilege of personally knowing this great man for many years and seeing him and talking to him more often than most people ever had the opportunity, I will attempt to set forth here some personal reminiscences.

* * * * *

The first time I ever met Dick Russell was when he was running for Governor of Georgia in 1930 and came hand-shaking through Thomasville. My daddy and I were working for Neel Brothers and running their hardware and building supply store.

This wiry, energetic, soft-spoken young man came through the back door, stuck out his hand, smiled and said, "I'm Dick Russell. I'm running for governor and I'd appreciate your vote."

Since at that time I was not quite old enough to vote, this flattered me a great deal. He was the first man to ever ask me to vote for him and it made an indelible impression on my young mind and my memory.

Years later as a political writer on The Atlanta Constitution, I was assigned to cover the Senator on a number of his trips back to Georgia. At that time he was the junior Senator from Georgia, junior to the late, great and also highly respected Walter F. George.

But even then Russell was growing in stature and had become Chairman of the Armed Services Committee. I surprised him once at his home in Winder when he had just come back home from a trip to Russia and didn't think any newspapermen knew about his arrival.

Although he was somewhat disconcerted when I showed up at his home for an interview, Sen. Russell was, as always, courteous and considerate. And I got a good story out of it. He warned then, not too many years after World War II, that Soviet Russia would be our biggest threat for many years to come.

We, of course, had developed the A-bomb and were working on the H-bomb, but Sen. Russell warned that if the Russians ever achieved superiority or even parity with us in the development of the bomb, that we would be in trouble.

When he decided to make a run for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1952, I was there that night at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta when he launched his campaign with a nation-wide radio (and TV in its infancy) broadcast.

It was a great occasion for Sen. Russell, but I couldn't help feeling sorry for him when the man who was to introduce him took up so much time that the Senator had to throw out page after page of his prepared text in order to finish his speech before the network time was up.

He didn't win the nomination, of course, because he was a Southerner, but his showing at the Democratic national convention was respectable, to say the least.

Once after that, my paper sent me again from Atlanta over to Winder to write a feature story on the annual Russell family reunion. Once again, I was not expected, but once again the Senator and the entire Russell clan were unfailingly courteous and hospitable.

They invited me and my wife to join the family in an outdoor barbecue, although we were the only outsiders, and so insistent were they that we accepted and spent a wonderful day. I remember sitting on the wide front porch or veranda, talking with his mother, Mrs. Ina Dillard Russell about her famous son. And I remember how all the members of this large family loved and revered their most illustrious member.

But I saw Sen. Russell most after I went to Washington as a newspaperman. He didn't grant many newspaper interviews or hold many press conferences. But because I was a newspaperman from Georgia, a longtime friend and a man I think he believed he could trust, I got in to see him perhaps more often than any other reporter on Capitol Hill.

They were always cordial, pleasant meetings, and I used to love to sit and listen to the Senator talk, so long as he felt he could spare the time from his enormous Senate duties. He had a dry sense of humor, and I was always amazed by his command of the English language. He not only was a well educated man but an avid reader, a fact attested to by the great number of books lining the walls of his huge Senate office.

Sometimes he would talk to me "off the record," knowing that I would not violate his confidence and publish what he was saying. On other occasions, we seemed to have an unspoken understanding. He knew that I sensed just what was "on the record" and "off the record," without his specifically saying so, and he knew I would not embarrass him.

On occasions at the end of a day we would share a cab from the Senate Office Building downtown or to our respective apartments in northwest Washington.

In the Senate chamber itself, Russell sat on the aisle just behind then majority leader Lyndon Johnson, and later Mike Mansfield. And many times Johnson would lean back and confer with his old friend and mentor, Dick Russell, and get advice.

Although they remained close personal friends always, I somehow had the idea that Sen. Russell was hurt and disappointed at Johnson for bowing to political expediency and pushing civil rights legislation much further than Russell thought was necessary. Senator Russell never said this, but I always had the feeling he was a little sad about the course his protege had taken on that divisive issue.

Probably no man in the history of the Senate ever knew the rules of the Senate and parliamentary tactics as well as Dick Russell. He had no peer in this respect, and it was universally recognized.

Whenever he was to take the floor to speak, the press gallery inside the chamber always filled up with newsmen. No man could be more righteously indignant than Dick Russell whenever he felt the rules of the Senate, the provisions of the Constitution and the people of his Southland were about to be trampled upon.

"Why, Mr. President, I never heard of such a thing in my life," he would say with withering scorn. "I have never known such an attempt to violate one of the basic rules of the Senate nor the Constitution of the United

States nor the rights and liberties of a free people from my section of the country, or any other section, be they white or black. This is an unprecedented attack on all the things we hold sacred!", he would add with an air of utter incomprehension and wounded dignity.

Vivid in my memory is one occasion during the civil rights debate of 1947 when then Vice President Richard Nixon was presiding over the Senate and was about to make a parliamentary ruling that Russell obviously believed was wrong and contrary to all of the rules of the Senate. Russell challenged the ruling.

I can't remember the details now, but the exchange between the Vice President and the righteously indignant Russell was something to see and hear. Nixon seemed quite disconcerted, had to consult the parliamentarian and seemed to realize that he was wrong.

President Eisenhower was in the White House then, and he had sent the civil rights bill up to Congress. But Russell spotted a key provision of the bill which he regarded as unconstitutional force legislation aimed at undercutting the whole principle of states' rights.

Eisenhower was a general, not a lawyer, and he didn't realize these fine points of the law and legislation. The upshot was that Russell made such an effective attack on this particular section of the bill that Ike called him to the White House for a private conference.

Russell explained the provision of the bill to the President with the result that Ike backed down and that particular section of the bill was deleted. It was for the time being a rear guard skirmish victory for Russell and his Southern forces.

I was waiting outside the White House, with other newsmen, for the Senator to emerge. He gave me and Frank van der Linden of the Nashville Banner a ride back up to Capitol Hill, with the Senator driving his old, unpretentious looking sedan. He had a grim smile of satisfaction on his face, but he was not gloating.

Sen. Russell's relationships with Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon were always good, and they all respected and admired him, as did Franklin Roosevelt before them.

He never said so publicly, but I always suspected that Sen. Russell was disappointed when then President-elect John F. Kennedy appointed his brother, Bobby, to be attorney general. The senator, I think, thought he had a commitment from Jack Kennedy not to appoint Bobby to that particular post. But I think he blamed their daddy, Joseph P. Kennedy, for forcing the appointment upon Jack.

Sen. Russell in his long career did much for Georgia and for the nation and the whole free world. And he did much for Thomasville. A great man is gone and Georgia, the nation—and Thomasville—are the poorer for this tragic loss.

As a newspaperman I covered some of the most famous and important figures of our time—Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, Vice-Presidents Barkley, Nixon, Johnson and Humphrey, when he was a Senator.

I have covered or closely observed such giants of history as Konrad Adenauer of Germany and Charles de Gaulle of France; Senate giants like Robert A. Taft and Walter George and Everett McKinley Dirksen. Visiting heads of state, like Queen Elizabeth of England; kings and potentates from all over the world. Congressional giants like Sam Rayburn of Texas.

But of all the men I have known or whose activities I have covered, Richard Brevard Russell, my friend, was the greatest of them all!

Hon. Claude Pepper

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, a great American newspaper was fortunate nearly 2 years ago to find in Mr. Sylvan Meyer an able successor to the late William C. Baggs, one of the most brilliant and compassionate journalists it was ever my privilege to know.

Mr. Meyer, prior to his appointment as editor of the News, was editor of a small newspaper in Gainesville, Ga., which had a reputation for honest and intelligent journalism transcending that town of some 16,000 souls.

As editor in Gainesville, Sylvan came to know the late senior Senator from Georgia, the distinguished Richard Russell, as well as any journalist could. In two articles which appeared in the January 25, 1971, editions of the Miami News, the editor remembered the Statesman.

So that colleagues might share in Mr. Meyer's observations of this great Georgian and American, I include both articles at this point in the Record:

[From the Miami News, Jan. 22, 1971]

Nation Knew Russell's Greatness and Its Limits

In the hot night of the summer of 1952, I walked through the trainload of Southerns churning toward Chicago on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, riding the "Dick Russell" special to the Democratic National Convention.

The Senator was not to be seen. He retired early while his supporters reveled. They never thought he would win the Democratic nomination for President. He would make a respectable showing and he would demonstrate to the rest of the party that not all Democrats went for that civil rights and racial equality business.

Of course, they didn't know Sen. Russell very well. Few people called him "Dick," for one thing. The presence and the dignity of the man suggested immediately that such familiarity would be out of place. They knew that he did not go along with the Dixiecrats, that he was not among the demagogues who used race politically and that he avoided talk of violence and hate. He had principles he believed in and they dictated to him a way things should be done; civil rights legislation he saw as unnecessary implementation of existing constitutional provisions. They didn't know he did not expect to win. They didn't know he was not anti-Negro in his personal views.

In Richard Russell's tradition of Southern patrician thought, the leading white establishment helped Negroes, joined with them politically against excesses of populism and other crudities common to the rambunctious when they seized power. In his opposition to civil rights legislation, Sen. Russell was never called, nor did he deserve to be called a racist.

Headed for Chicago, he was a man for whom the time was absolutely right, save for one issue and it became so dominant that the time frustrated his talent for the only job in the nation more powerful than the ones he held anyway. His ambition never led him to repudiate his section for national support, nor to wholly embrace its follies for its own.

The L&N train held every brand of Southerner there was, the liberals, the segregationists, the elite of establishment and the peckerwood politicos from the pine flat and hillcountry boondocks. Richard Russell had brought together every faction just because he was who he was. He personified judicious, thoughtful and progressive government, a government of compassion for all people but one whose processes must be studied minutely and carefully, never rudely jostled nor too swiftly carried past the lens of patient scrutiny by men who understood it.

Even those who wanted change then, now understood that the country needed men like Richard Russell just to make sure that in changing the nation's attitudes no one changed its basic processes nor threatened its ability to protect every man's liberty.

Sen. Russell was the man in Chicago everyone thought would make a great President, but could never win a national election. So serious a man could not be taken seriously. If defeat bothered him he didn't show disappointment. Neither did he compromise before the enticing bait of instant national popularity.

It is hard to believe that he was younger than 55 at that time, a leader in his prime, a lifelong student and practitioner of government.

Now the trainride is long forgotten. The man Russell died as a giant of his country, bearing every honor except the Presidency. His integrity benefited the republic, perhaps even saved it from disaster, in times of military and moral peril. The country has need of men so widely recognized as perfectly honorable that their very presence, as was his on the Kennedy assassination investigation commission, carries assurance into every quarter that justice will be done.

They will say, as Sen. Russell is laid into the red earth of North Georgia, that an era has closed, a chapter in history ended. I hope that isn't true. He had a regard for the American principle that his memory should reinforce. He was both ahead of his time and very much of it, and he was largely wise in guiding it.

A modern Russell, this one unbound by that single chain of sectional history, must emerge and soon, or the nation is in the greater peril for his absence.

[From the Miami News, Jan. 25, 1971]

RUSSELL KEPT RACIAL BATTLE FROM DESTROYING UNITED STATES

The national obituaries are saying that the late Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia became lonely and embittered during the final years of his service, hurt because a Southerner could not become President.

I think "lonely and embittered" overstates the case. Sen. Russell always kept to himself, preferring to read and study alone rather than socialize around Washington. His concentration on being a Senator and on the nation's directions fully occupied him. His singleness of purpose explains why he was right most of the time.

Some biographer, after four or five years of study, will let us know more about Sen. Russell. Meanwhile, the role of such a man in the making of America tells us a great deal about how our system works and shows us how critical to the national life one man in one place at a time of historical turmoil can be.

I last talked to him about three and a half years ago. He felt terrible. His aides limited my time in his office to ten minutes and I was through with my business in eight. Although the Senator was totally attentive, his lips and hands trembled and he looked washed out.

We needed a bridge in Georgia, an inexpensive little span to cost about $550,000. It crossed a Corps of Engineers reservoir to a group of islands destined to be a state-developed resort and recreation center. We had put together an incredible combination of state moneys, federal grants in aid and matching moneys and expected leases from private enterprise. But there was no money with which to build the bridge. No bridge, no project.

We asked Sen. Russell to urge the Corps of Engineers to build the bridge. They were the only agency legitimately entitled to do so. All the Senator said after the meeting was, "I'll look into it."

Two months later, he called to say the bridge was OK. Now it is built. The project is moving forward. He had simply called the Corps and told them to build it, and they did.

About that time, new civil rights legislation was popping. He performed as general of the opposition. Vietnam was erupting. He was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He was the second ranking Senator in the United States. He was ill. But he kept up with everything.

It will long be debated whether this capable and dedicated man slowed down the country's march toward racial equality or because of his absolute allegiance to our political system, speeded it along.

Sen. Russell defended his position, and that of the Southern Old Guard, through every accepted parliamentary device and every tactic of honorable politics. In the course of the battles in which he served as strategy chief he put down his wilder and less responsible colleagues. Except for one brief demagogic dodge—a proposal that two million Negroes be transplanted to Northern states to help Northerners' appreciation of the South's problems—he deliberately avoided the inflammatory rhetoric of the typical racial hardliner.

And when Sen. Russell lost, he lost. He did not beat dead horses. He discouraged his colleagues from engaging in recriminations. Such was his conviction that the democratic process had to be sustained that once a vote came and once the vote went against him and there was nothing left to do, he accepted the verdict of the system.

This is the essence of democratic philosophy. Those who do not accept defeat at the end of the battle are in fact conceding that they never respected the rules in the first place.

Had one of the wild ones controlled Southern senators rather than Russell, unspeakable disintegration of the processes of government could have occurred. Russell yielded inch by inch, giving his recalcitrant brothers time to absorb their shocks. He would not permit the defeated group to maintain perpetual guerrilla warfare nor violate the essential process of national decision making.

For the nation's sake, he was the best man to lead the wrong side at that time. He must have been aware of the fact that he was the only Southerner with the prestige and skill to command a retreat that would save the skins of his political brethren and at the same time prevent the country from tearing itself apart.

Hon. Philip M. Crane
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the people of America have suffered an irreparable loss with the recent death of the Honorable Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, President pro tempore of the Senate.

My colleague in the Senate distinguished himself as a man of vision who loved his Nation and his State. Senator Russell was a dedicated champion of the national defense who knew his trade and practiced it well. My fellows in both Houses of Congress and I would do well to emulate his selfless devotion to principle.

A man of outstanding ability, Richard Russell also possessed a deep compassion and understanding. He will be sorely missed.

My wife and I extend our deep sympathy to his brother.

Hon. G. Elliott Hagan
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the outstanding character and natural leadership of the late Senator Richard Brevard Russell, of Georgia.

However, I believe that the First District newspaper, the Darien News, recently expressed so well a commentary on Senator Russell's personal and great defense of the South and I commend it to your attention:

[From the Darien (Ga.) News]

RUSSELL FOUGHT FOR HIS IDEA OF VILIFICATION OF SOUTHERN LIFE

(By Edward H. Sims)

The recent death of Richard Russell of Georgia, dean of the Senate, should not pass without a commentary on his effort in the Senate for so many years—to defend the South and its way of life, a South which he believed too often vilified by a prejudiced nation. He once said: "The feeling against the South has become a national disgrace."

What the Senator meant was not that racial conditions in the South were perfect, but that they were as good as in other sections of the country and that the South was being used by politicians of all sections as a whipping boy, for votes, while much of the same way of life was hypocritically carried on outside the South.

That vilification might have been justified in a way by various events, but not more so than for other sections, which received no such political abuse. The Senator also resented that no Senator or statesman from the South had a chance to be President. As he saw it, prejudice against the South was the main reason—prejudice on the racial issue, much of which he found hypocritical.

He believed the two major races got on well in the South, generally speaking, and that there was more genuine friendship and love between them in the South than anywhere else in the nation, that the two races had learned to live together.

He acknowledged that change was due, that every American is due the same opportunity, education and rights of every other. But he fought all his life against measures aimed only at the South, and those which he considered unconstitutional, some of which he considered political pitches for votes. But when a law was passed he asked all to obey it.

If indeed Senator Russell was not completely right in his assessment, it must nevertheless be said that all of the Senate's recent members, including Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy, and Mike Mansfield, etc. acknowledged that he was better informed on the major issues of the day, and on the rules of the Senate, than any other man. They conceded he would have been President had he come from a state outside the South. All described him as a giant among giants in the Senate.

This being true, it's impossible to dismiss his defense of the South and its way of life as having no merit and no truth.

Far from being a reactionary, Russell was liberal in many fields. He said once he was a liberal in bad times and a conservative in good years and his voting record substantiated that statement.

This writer years ago visited Russell's office almost daily, as a young Washington correspondent. While he was far more important in the Senate than some of the other Senators on the daily call list, he would almost

invariably make himself available for questioning if in. Others were often hard to corner, and if cornered would avoid answers to delicate questions. But Russell was a simple and open man, as his modest biography showed, which only mentioned that he was a Democrat from Winder, Georgia.

FUNERAL OF

Hon. Richard Brevard Russell

(1897–1971)

FUNERAL OF HON. RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL (1897–1971)

Richard Brevard Russell died on January 21, 1971, in the 50th year of an epochal career of public service. Death came to the dean and President pro tempore of the United States Senate in the early afternoon at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, the District of Columbia.

The 3-day period of mourning that followed was marked by an unprecedented outpouring of respect and tribute. It began at the seat of national power and ended in the simple surroundings of a family cemetery on a hilltop near the Russell home in Winder, Ga.

Senator Russell's final journey to the red clay hills of his beloved Georgia began on the morning of January 22d, the day following his death. A hearse, led by a 16-man motorcycle escort of District of Columbia police and followed by cars with family and staff, carried the Senator's body through the streets and broad avenues of Washington enroute to Andrews Air Force Base in nearby Maryland.

The procession passed near the memorials to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, the White House and other landmarks of our national heritage. His former places of residence were also included in the route.

When it reached the Capitol of the United States, the procession paused for a few moments at the foot of the long marble steps leading to the Chamber of the United States Senate, where virtually the entire Senate membership stood in silent tribute.

Following this farewell between Senator Russell and the institution in which he served for more than half of his life, the procession passed before the great dome of the Capitol to the House wing. The Georgia delegation to the United States House of Representatives had assembled on the House steps with the Speaker and other members to pay their respects. A police honor guard lined the Capitol Plaza and Congressional aides, Capitol employees and members of the Fourth Estate were prominent in the assemblage.

Prior to his death Senator Russell had expressed a wish that his body lie in state in the Georgia Capitol in Atlanta. In keeping with this wish, members of the Russell family respectfully declined an offer by Congressional leaders to enact a resolution for the Senator's body to lie in state in the Rotunda of the National Capitol.

When the funeral party arrived at Andrews Air Force Base, Air Force One was waiting by personal orders from the President of the United States. Military honors were rendered as the Senator's body was placed aboard the aircraft for the flight.

The great jet aircraft bearing the Senator's body landed at Atlanta Airport in the early afternoon where it was met by the Governor of Georgia.

From there the funeral party proceeded to the State Capitol and a waiting crowd of mourners led by the Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the Georgia House, members of the Georgia General Assembly, and other State officials. As the Third Army Band played funeral music, the Senator's body was borne up the granite steps into the rotunda of the capitol by casket bearers representing each military service.

The Reverend Louie D. Newton, pastor emeritus of the Druid Hills Baptist Church of Atlanta, preceded the casket. He offered the following statement and prayer as the body was placed in state:

GEORGIA'S MAN TO REMEMBER

Three score years ago, and ten plus three, a baby's cry was heard in Winder.

Twenty-four hours ago, that voice was hushed in death's last sleep as the winter sun shone softly on the Nation's dome. And now we stand in reverent tribute as the weary body of Georgia's most distinguished son reposes for a last visit beneath her gold-swathed

dome, encircled by portrait faces of yesteryears and countless Georgians from the mountains to the sea.

Another 24 hours, and these mortal remains will be gently borne to the hearthstone in the big white house where the baby's voice was quieted in blessed sleep by his beloved mother's lullabies and the whispered prayers of his illustrious father.

Another 24 hours, and the long lines of the nearest and dearest, flanked by Georgia's and the Nation's tallest leaders, and the State's great host of admiring friends of every creed and race, every profession and trade, every county and community, will walk softly to the waiting grave.

"Then shall the dust return to the earth,
And the spirit unto God who gave it."

for

"But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

Thus shall be engraved on tablets of human affection and appreciation the saga of Richard Brevard Russell, Jr.—*Georgia's Man to Remember,* gratefully.

And from the Savannah to the Chattahoochee, from the cedars to the cypress, from sunset to the evening star, uttered and silent prayers will ascend from broken hearts, praising and thanking God for the good, great man, who "did justly, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his Lord." Farewell, good and cherished friend—statesman, patriot and prophet. Let us pray.

Major Louie D. Newton,
Chief of Chaplains,
Georgia State Guard, retired.

THE PRAYER

"O God, our help in ages past
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home."

We reverently bow in Thy presence, our Father, in thanksgiving and appreciation. We confess our poignant sense of loneliness in this solemn hour. Our tallest tree has fallen, and there is an emptiness against the sky. Speak Thy word of comfort to Georgians and Americans and nations near and far.

Grant Thy healing balm to the beloved family; Thy blessing to the faithful and devoted doctors and nurses; Thy encouragement to the President and Congress, to the Governor and General Assembly; and Thy renewal of purpose and high resolve to the people everywhere.

Enable us, O God, to grasp the torch he so nobly held aloft, and in Thy strength and by Thy will stand up and press on, in tribute to him, and in unceasing response to our Lord and Saviour's command: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness," remembering His promise: "And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." In His Holy Name. *Amen.*

Louie D. Newton,
The State Capitol,
2:30 p.m., January 22, 1971.

For the next 24 hours Georgians from every walk of life, of every color and every creed, and of every age filed by the bier in a last farewell to the man who had served them as a State representative, speaker of the Georgia House, Governor, and, for the last 38 years of his life, United

States Senator. Long lines extended around Capitol Square and some waited for longer than an hour. A combined service Honor Guard and members of the Georgia General Assembly maintained an around-the-clock watch.

On Saturday afternoon, January 23d, the President of the United States accompanied by his wife arrived at the Georgia Capitol to pay his respects on behalf of the people of the Nation. He entered the hushed Rotunda and placed a wreath of red, white, and blue flowers at the Senator's bier. He and Mrs. Nixon then privately extended their sympathies to members of the Russell family who had gathered in the Governor's office just off the Rotunda.

As he emerged from the Capitol before departing, the President delivered this brief message:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT IN TRIBUTE TO RICHARD RUSSELL, OF GEORGIA, ON LEAVING THE STATE CAPITOL, ATLANTA, AND AFTER PLACING A WREATH AT THE BIER OF THE LATE U.S. SENATOR

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have just had the very great honor of representing the people of the United States in paying tribute to Senator Russell.

I have laid a wreath on the casket in the State Capitol of Georgia, and then I have met with members of his family, a very large family and a very devoted family, and spoken to them about what Senator Russell has meant to this country.

Last night on national television in the State of the Union, I asked the Members of the House and the Senate to rise in a silent tribute of prayer to Senator Russell. I said then that he was a great Senator, and that he was a good friend for all of those who had the privilege to know him.

I think that my feelings today, as I stand here at the Capitol in the State of Georgia, go really to things more fundamental than friendship or service in the United States Senate. They go to the character of this man.

Richard Russell was certainly one of the most intelligent men ever to serve in the United States Senate. I have often heard it said that no new member of the Senate should ever dare try to tangle with him. In fact, no older member of the Senate would dare to do so with hope of coming out ahead.

He was one of the hardest working members of the Senate. He was one who, of course, served in the Senate so many years that he had high seniority. But what really set him apart was what we call character—character which grew up over a period of years; character that came from his native soil of his native State; character that came from his family; character that came from his deep religious belief; and character which came from a sense of patriotism that enabled him to serve six Presidents with equal devotion.

The way I summarize Senator Russell's place in history very briefly is this: Had he been born 10 years later and served in the Senate 10 years later, he would probably have been President of the United States. All of those who knew him put him in that league.

But not having been President of the United States, he did something else that perhaps could have meant just as much. For five Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Johnson, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and then President Nixon—he was an advisor and a tower of strength in all areas of foreign policy and in national defense.

I would remember Senator Russell as a President's Senator, one that a President could always turn to when there was a hard fight, a close vote; one that he could always

turn to and confide any information that was extremely confidential, knowing that it would never go beyond that room.

And I also remember one other thing that I think summarizes it all. I mentioned last night that I called on the Senator shortly before his death at Walter Reed Hospital, and what impressed me about him was that here was this man suffering in the last days of his life and never for one moment during about 45 minutes that we were there in the room did he talk about himself. He just talked about the country that he loved so much. And he talked about the national defense of this country and the need to keep it strong.

When the conversation was over, and as we left the room, I will never forget the last words that he spoke: "I only wish I could get down there and help."

I think that summarizes Richard Russell's life. He always wanted to be wherever he could be to help, and he has set an example for all of us as Americans to be proud of, an example for all of us to emulate, a selfless service to America.

We throw the word "great" around rather loosely these days, and every man who serves in the United States Senate or the Congress is, in a sense, a great man to have achieved that place of honor. But when we use the word "great" with Senator Russell, all of us who know him, all of us who had the opportunity to serve with him, know in our hearts that if we had to pick one Senator whom we felt stood out above all the rest in times of crisis, whom a President could rely on, it would be Richard Russell of Georgia.

That is why he was not just this President's Senator, but every President's Senator. He is going to be missed by this State. He is going to be missed by this country. But he is particularly going to be missed by Presidents of the United States now and in the future.

A short time after the President's departure, the military casket bearers took the Senator's body from the Rotunda to a waiting hearse for his last trip from Atlanta to Winder. The United States Air Force Band played hymns as Senator Russell made his departure from the Georgia Capitol where he began his public career as a 23-year-old State legislator a half century before. The Reverend James Wesberry, pastor of the Morningside Baptist Church in Atlanta, preceded the casket.

Massive crowds gathered along the 50-mile route of the final leg of his homeward journey. Children standing in the bright Georgia sunshine waved American flags at the passing procession. The grief of the entire State was particularly evident in the lined faces of the generation of Georgians that had been relying on Senator Russell's leadership since the early thirties when he was to them, "Little Dick—the boy Governor."

Late in the afternoon, the procession turned from the highway into the tree-lined lane that led to the unpretentious Russell family home. Fellow townsmen, friends, and neighbors watched silently as the body was borne into the house, where it was again placed in state in the family parlor.

Throughout the night and morning following, a steady stream of Georgians from near and far, numbering in the thousands, passed through the Russell home and were received by brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Senator.

Shortly after noon on January 24th, the body was moved in a walking procession to the Russell Memorial Park several hundred yards to the rear of the Russell home for the formal service. A cold, winter rain that had been falling since early in the day seemed to the mourners to become even more relentless.

Nine nephews who served as pallbearers led the hearse bearing the Senator's body. Members of the family followed by colleagues, aides, and friends walked behind. The United States Marine Corps Band, resplendent in dress blue uniform, had come from Washington to participate in the service.

Because of the inclement weather in the Winder area, two jet aircraft bearing the Vice President of the United States and the largest Senatorial delegation ever to attend the funeral of a Senator were diverted to Charleston, S.C. The funeral service participants who were on these aircraft delivered their eulogies from a Charleston television studio through a hastily arranged two-way television network. At the

request of the Senator's brothers and sisters, Congressman Robert G. Stephens of Georgia, a close friend, presided at the formal service.

At the conclusion of the service, the pallbearers lifted their uncle's body the remaining short distance from the Park and through a clump of loblolly pines to the family cemetery. The somber notes of the Navy Hymn echoed across the countryside as the procession moved solemnly to the open grave beside Senator Russell's mother for interment.

Following the committal, the Honor Guard came forward and furled the American flag that had been draped across the casket for the duration of the 3-day funeral. The flag was presented to a sister of the Senator, Mrs. J. K. Stacy and then it was finished.

Richard Brevard Russell had come home.

Funeral Service for
HON. RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL
(1897–1971)

Sunday Afternoon, January 24, 1971
Russell Memorial Park, Winder, Ga.

SCRIPTURE AND PRAYER by Rev. Dr. Henry Edward Russell, brother of the late Senator

"Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." (Psalm 124: 8.)

"The eternal God is thy Refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms." (Deut. 33: 23.)

"Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." (Psalm 103: 13.)

"As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted." (Isaiah 66: 13.)

"Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." (John 14: 27.)

"God is our refuge and Strength, a very present Help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear." (Psalm 46: 1–2.)

"I am the Resurrection, and the Life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." (John 11: 25–26.)

Prayer offered by Dr. Russell:

Eternal God, Universe Maker, World Creator and Life Giver: It is from Thee that we come and to Thee we return. We thank Thee that Thou hast loved us with an everlasting love and canst turn the shadow of death into the morning. Help us now to wait upon Thee with reverent and believing hearts. We bless Thy name for Thy favor to Thy servant, whom Thou hast called into Thy presence; for Thy grace that gave him power in life and assurance in death. Now in the silence of this hour speak to each of us of eternal things, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures we may have hope, and be lifted above our darkness and distress into the light and peace of Thy presence; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Dr. Russell read the following Scripture from the Old Testament:

"Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.
Before the mountains were brought forth,
Or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world,
Even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.
For a thousand years in Thy sight
Are but as yesterday when it is past,
And as a watch in the night.
Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep:
In the morning they are like grass which groweth up.

In the evening it is cut down, and withereth.
The days of our years are threescore years and ten;
And if by reason of strength they be fourscore years,
Yet is their strength labor and sorrow;
For it is soon cut off, and we fly away.
So teach us to number our days,
That we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.
And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us;
Yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it." (Psalm 90.)

"Lord, make me to know mine end,
And the measure of my days, what it is;
That I may know how frail I am.
Behold, Thou hast made my days as an handbreadth;
And mine age is as nothing before Thee.
Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto my cry;
Hold not Thy peace at my tears:
For I am a stranger with Thee,
And a sojourner, as all my fathers were." (Psalm 39.)

"The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his names sake:
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me;
Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies:
Thou anointest my head with oil;
My cup runneth over.
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life:
And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever." (Psalm 23.)

Between the reading from the Old and the New Testament Dr. Russell used the Gloria:

"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end."
Amen.

Dr. Russell continued with these selected passages from the New Testament:

"Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's at His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.

But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou foolish one, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed its own body.

So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.

Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. For this corruptible must be put on incorruption, and this mortal must be put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on corruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch, as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord." (I Corinthians, ch. 15.)

"The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together.

For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.

And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose.

What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Romans, ch. 8.)

"Jesus said: Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in Me. In My Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know. I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by Me.

These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." (John, ch. 14.)

PRAYERS by Rev. Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate

Almighty God, Father of mercies and Giver of all comfort, deal graciously, we pray Thee, with all those who mourn this day, that casting every care on Thee, they may know the consolation of Thy love, the healing of Thy grace, and the companionship of Thy presence. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Eternal Father, we thank Thee that deep in the human heart is an unquenchable trust that life does not end with death, that the Father who made us will care for us beyond the bounds of vision even as He has cared for us in this earthly pilgrimage. We praise Thy name that our hope has been so wondrously confirmed in the life, the words and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Accept O Lord, our simple tribute of affection and esteem, and our abiding gratitude for Thy servant Richard. We thank Thee for his goodly heritage, for his parents, his home and early training, for his constant witness to the faith, for his place in the Church, for his life of prayer, for his witness to the gospel by life and deed and for his steadfastness in seeking to know and do Thy will.

We thank Thee for his warm and enduring friendship, for his gracious manners and courteous demeanor, for his knightly habits, and for his outgoing good-will to persons of every party, race and creed. We thank Thee for the magnitude of his service to this State and to the Nation in war and in peace, as soldier, civil servant and statesman.

We thank Thee for the manner in which he kept alive the American heritage, for his genius in times of crisis, and for the eloquence and persuasiveness of his speech.

Suffer us not to miss the glory of this hour. May we be dedicated anew to the making of a better world, to be true as he was true, loyal as he was loyal, strong as he was strong, and by Thy spirit help us to achieve the high goals which were the objectives of his life.

And now, O Father, who doest all things well, with thankful hearts that Thou hast given him to us for a season, we give Thy servant, Richard, back to Thy tender care, until the shadows flee away, and the brighter day dawns when the visible and invisible are as one in Thy higher kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

EULOGY by Hon. Spiro T. Agnew, Vice President of the United States

Perhaps more than any other man in recent memory, Richard B. Russell was a true son of the Senate. He was a student of Senate tradition. He was a man who occupied the prestigious office of President pro tempore of that august body. And his colleagues called upon him frequently for advice and for counsel. But, although Senator Russell was knowledgeable and had tremendous legal and intellectual capacities that he used in good stead to thread his way through the technicalities of legislation, perhaps his greatest characteristic was his sensitivity to the spirit of the Senate; his awareness that the legislation itself was only a means of implementing the ideas and ideals of people.

He was a kind man. He was a gentle man. Yet he was a fierce adversary. He was a man with whom principle had to come first. He was a man who understood that there were those who came behind him who needed the benefit of his counsel. I did not get to know the Senator well personally. But during the time that I have seen him and talked with him I would say no man I met in my lifetime has had a greater impact on me than did Senator Richard B. Russell.

The world, the Senate, the United States, and the people everywhere, will be diminished because of his passing. But the lessons he taught are indestructible. And, as time goes by, future greatness of generations to come will stand on the shoulders of the doctrinaire approaches of Richard Russell and of his integrity, of his greatness as a man and as a Senator and, above all, as a patriot of these United States.

EULOGY by Hon. Herman E. Talmadge, Senator from Georgia

The Roman statesman, Seneca, avowed that a man who is great when he falls is great still in his prostration.

We are here today to honor a man whose greatness in life embraced 50 years of unexcelled service to his beloved state and nation . . . a man whose greatness will be everlasting.

His heart has been stilled. The grandeur of his life has been taken from this world.

But the memory of Richard Brevard Russell will remain alive in the minds and hearts of all of us here today as, I am sure it will, in generations of Georgians yet unborn.

The greatness of a state or nation is not measured by their mountains or streams, or rolling hills or plains, and not by material things or even immense wealth.

The capacity for greatness resides in the spirit of the man. This is a unique blessing of God. Man is the embodiment of dignity and integrity. It is man who gives majesty to states and nations.

Such a man was Richard Brevard Russell. Such men as he have made Georgia a great and proud state. Such men of wisdom and foresight as Senator Russell built the United States, and made our nation the world leader that it is today.

Freedom and human dignity are more secure because of patriots such as Senator Russell.

Georgia, the nation, the free world are in his debt. We mourn his death.

Dick Russell's roots ran deep in Georgia. He loved this state, and he was as much a part of it as the ground on which we now stand.

There has never been a greater family than the Russells of Georgia. There was never a greater Russell than Richard Brevard Russell.

I first knew Dick Russell when he was Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. I was just a boy then, and I got a job as page. I was only there a few days, and Speaker Russell was far too busy to get to know me very well personally.

I didn't see him again for 3 years, when he came to McRae, Ga., to make a speech, I went up to speak to him afterwards, and he immediately extended a cordial greeting and called me by name. I have never forgotten that. I cherish the memory of Senator Russell as that kind of man.

For all of his greatness and the heavy burdens and responsibilities that he carried throughout all of his adult life, Senator Russell was a kind and considerate and gentle man.

He was a man of all people, but he was particularly Georgia's own.

As one of the greatest U.S. Senators of all time, confidant of Presidents of the United States, a party to momentous decision making at the national and international level, Senator Russell was known and respected throughout all this land and the world over.

He brought unprecedented credit to Georgia, wherever he went and in everything he did.

Today, Georgians bow their heads in respect. A great statesman, one of our own, has fallen.

I know of no higher honor that could befall me than to have had the privilege to serve with this brilliant and courageous man in the Senate of the United States.

EULOGY by Hon. Michael J. Mansfield, Majority Leader of the United States Senate

What is 50 years in public life?

It is the end of a war long ago and a young lawyer's practice in a town where the railroad runs through cotton fields. It is the lift of a first election and a seat in a State legislature.

It is an ear given to the past and to the words of a family rich in the law, the Bible and the bitter fruits of an ancient war.

It is an ear given to the present, to neighbors who need and do not need, to the rich and the poor, to the harsh and the gentle, to the black and to the white. It is the Speaker's chair in the Georgia House and the learning of the machinery through which freedom seeks to speak.

What is 50 years in public life?

It is the confidence of a people whose confidence in all else has been shaken. It is the agony of an empty public purse when many hands stretch out for help.

It is a fury of frustration as the land dries up and factories stand still even as men go in want and there are the sounds of violent discontent rising. It is the weighing of plea against plea, hope against hope, need against need. It is a mandate to decide, whether it is easy to decide or hard.

It is a Governor's house in a Nation's dark hours.

What is 50 years in public life?

It is a long journey to a Nation's Capitol and to the Senate of the United States. It is the mixing of an old experience and a new.

It is another war, another, and another yet, and a militant defense of the Nation's defense.

It is the pleas of a people remembered out of the past and the means, at last, to respond to them.

It is all the ways that States draw strength from the Federal Government.

It is school lunches and food for the hungry, the farmer helped, the roads built, the schools expanded and the dignity of hope reborn.

It is the mastery of new legislative machinery and, as conscience compels, in vigorous use.

It is, at last, the Chair of the Senate of the United States and the high trust of a nation.

Fifty years in public life.

It closes where it began, where it is green and there is the smell of pines.

Richard Brevard Russell, Winder, Ga., a Senator of the United States.

EULOGY by Hon. Phil M. Landrum, Ninth District, dean of the Georgia congressional delegation

A brilliant intellect; a vigorous thorough student; a principle of iron; a fearless courage—one like Alexander Hamilton Stephens afraid of nothing but to do wrong—love of people with unselfish devotion to public service; unshakeable faith in government of, by and for the people; a calm competence in times of crisis; all this in one man was Dick Russell—statesman extraordinary.

For those of us who had the joy of shared experience with him, our recollections will continue to inspire. For those who come to know him only through history and share these experiences vicariously, his sense of fairness, his impeccable honesty, his record of achievement as Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, as Governor of the State of Georgia and as a United States

Senator for more than a generation will provide a unique formula for greatness.

Georgians loved him with glowing loyalty. The Nation respected him for his undaunted patriotism, his unparalleled contributions to its national security. And the world will come to observe his high standards of conduct as a measuring line for true statesmanship.

PRINCIPAL EULOGY by Hon. John C. Stennis, Senator from Mississippi

During almost four decades of his Senate service, vast changes and challenges confronted our Nation, far beyond any other period of our history.

These included the depression of the 1930's, World War II, the postwar years in which a new foreign policy had to be evolved, the special problem of nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Grave questions arose concerning crises in Europe and in Asia. Then came the Korean War, and the present war.

The task of effectively arming America, in both nuclear and conventional weaponry, was always pressing.

In all these grave matters, Senator Russell had a firm and active hand, was a major influence with wise and constructive suggestions, and then played a major role in actually welding together each and all of our major policies, including, of course, our national security.

He had the most thorough grasp, I believe, of more of our major problems in government than any other person in public life. With this, he always had solid and practical ideas concerning a remedy for these problems.

This was all based partly on long experience and partly on years of full application and attention by a highly talented mind. In addition, he had the gift of a great deal of uncommon common sense, and sound judgment. He used these exceedingly well.

Far beyond what any Senator has done in modern times, he mastered the Senate rules and was the Senate's valuable member parliamentarian.

He knew our Constitution and understood the operations of our Constitutional system as few men do. He believed in the Constitution, he loved it, he followed it, and he lived it—in truth and in spirit.

Some of his greatest achievements came in actions beyond the call of duty as a legislator. During the tenures of six Presidents, including President Richard Nixon, Senator Russell was called to the White House many, many times, sometimes alone, for intimate conferences with the Presidents, concerning the Nation's welfare and security. His wise counsel was sought and always given, frankly and without partisanship. The course finally adopted by the Executives often received his strong and valuable support.

I mention one special and partly overlooked major achievement—the Senate hearings in 1951 following the dismissal by President Harry Truman of General Douglas MacArthur as Commander-in-Chief in the Korean War. The people of the country were shaken and bewildered. In a quiver of emotion and despair, strong men shed tears, while many wise men were actually doubtful whether our system could survive the shock of this event. Tensions were high indeed. Someone had to lead the way. Senator Russell was the man.

Quickly, quietly, skillfully, he conducted full hearings, which gradually became assuring to the people. General MacArthur and many other notable witnesses testified fully. The evidence was quickly cleared for publication. Gradually, the people understood. The superior role that Senator Russell played brought the realization to the Nation that the Constitutional role of both the President and the Congress had been carried out. The people were content to let the matter

rest on that basis. Calm was restored. As a member who attended all hearings, I have full appreciation of this signal achievement and its place in history. Senator Russell received little outward credit for this superb service. But I know he was awarded an *inward* satisfaction that came from the knowledge that duty was met. Such was the man.

All these and many other achievements could not have been made unless there had been found in this noble man the full measure of integrity, respect, and trust for him, and for his wise judgment. He served with more than 450 fellow Senators. All would call him, I am sure, an honorable man.

These are qualities that cannot be bought. They cannot be bestowed by gift. Rather, they must be earned.

Over and over again, this strong man has thus been a tower of strength in the Senate at almost every turn of major events for almost 40 years. He never bluffed nor pressured. He never sought an office of power in the Senate. But he got results. He had power in his qualities. He was the strong man of the Senate. There were and are other strong men, but he was Number One.

In person, he has introduced his last bill, has held his last hearing, has attended his last conference, and has made his last speech. But Richard Russell continues to live. His influence will be felt; the policies he helped formulate will serve us in the years ahead.

Moreover, he taught through example. He has left to the youth of our nation both a challenge and a pattern of conduct for citizenship and public life. I hold forth the qualities he followed as a legacy . . . a gift to the youth of our nation.

What can the youth of today find here to emulate?

A course of conduct that inspires confidence; absolute personal dedication; noble purposes; standards in public and private life unexcelled; a willingness to serve; a willingness to lead and endlessly carry the penalty of leadership; and, above all else, the attainment of being an honorable man.

The youth of America and others find here a man and a record that *fully* live up to the everlasting call of the poet, Gilbert Holland, who said:

> God, give us men! A time like this demands
> Strong minds, great hearts, true faith,
> and ready hands;
> Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
> Men who possess opinions and a will;
> Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
> Strong men, who live above the fog
> In public duty and in private thinking.

No remembrance would be complete without a word about the simplicity of his personal life. Following long toil in Washington, his idea of a real treat was not a visit to some renowned spot, but rather to spend a few days with the people of Georgia, including a visit to Winder to be with his mother when I first knew him, his sisters, his brothers, his nieces and nephews, and others whom he admired and loved so much. The principal objectives of his devotion in life were his relatives, the people of Georgia, his government, and particularly the United States Senate.

Even though his influence was nationwide, and he carried responsibilities for the entire nation, his *first* devotion was always to the State of Georgia and to her people. From this he never varied!

And so it is proper that the mortal remains of this renowned and loyal son of Georgia be brought directly to the Capitol of this State that he loved—there, to be directly revered by the people he so faithfully served, and never forgot.

So now, in a few moments, we shall return the mortal remains of this great man to the red soil of Georgia, to rest beside his dear noted parents and his other dear and respected loved ones.

Should I attempt to summarize the career and qualities of this matchless man with a single word applied to his name, my summary would be:

"Richard Brevard Russell—Patriot." May God Rest His Honorable Soul!

EULOGY by Hon. Jimmy Carter, Governor of Georgia

We Christians know that men live on, that mortal death need be no end.

But there are those who in a special way leave moving tides behind them here on earth.

This honor is mine as Georgia's Governor to stand here with our nation's leaders to speak of one unequalled in distinction.

Yesterday with the family I felt the silent reverence of the roadside crowds.

We shared a sense that Richard Russell will live on within us.

In his life there was no measured failure.

The constant weight of service laid upon him roused his courage, his hope, and his own self-denial.

Within his life there was no avarice, no greed, and no lack of love.

He tuned his soul to genuine humility.

He upheld right and freedom, faithful obedience of the law, and he knew the Word of God.

He yet lives on in his country's strength, which he fathered and nurtured in every circumstance.

He yet lives on in his ever guarded honor, and in his duty to our State, which needed him and which he did not fail.

He was devoutly wedded to those he served for 50 years.

So now we need not mourn his not so easy death.

We prize his living on in love, and in that portion of his noble image which we may choose to emulate.

We need not mourn this transient passing on.

"After the first death, there is no other."

BENEDICTION by Rev. C. Hoke Sewell, Minister, First United Methodist Church, Winder, Ga.

Our Heavenly Father, it is with a deep sense of gratitude that we stop and thank Thee again this afternoon for the deeds of this marvelous man, for his statesmanlike conduct, for his wonderful service to our people, the people of these United States, the people of the world. We thank Thee for this dedicated life, for what he was and for what we knew him to be.

We're told in Thy word that men may cease to live in this life but they live again with Thee. But their works go on and we do not believe that it is ever possible to erase from history the many wonderful things that Richard Russell has given to mankind.

In closing this part of the service this afternoon, we commend his loved ones unto Thee because we know that Thou art able to bring comfort, strength, power, and grace. To one, somehow, they close ranks. Continue, our Father, to live in the memory of what he has done for them and for others. Tender and touch everyone of their hearts and bring comfort and strength to their lives. We

cannot pause without asking Thy blessing upon this Nation, upon this State, upon this community, upon us who are gathered here today. As we honor his memory, we honor ourselves. And may the blessings of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit be with each and everyone of us, and in a special way make Himself felt and known in every one of the hearts of these dear loved ones and friends. For we ask it all in the Master's name and for His sake. *Amen.*

Committal Service for

HON. RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

(1897–1971)

Sunday Afternoon, January 24, 1971
Russell Family Cemetery, Winder, Ga.

COMMITTAL by Rev. Dr. Henry Edward Russell, brother of the late Senator

"For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." (II Cor. 5: 1.)

"Fear not; I am the first and the last, saith the Lord: I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore." (Rev. 1: 17, 18.)

"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee: because he trusteth in Thee." (Isa. 26: 3.)

"Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." (John 6: 68.)

"Thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory." (I Cor. 15: 57.)

Unto the mercy of Almighty God, we commend the soul of our brother departed and we commit his body to the grave, in the sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.

PRAYER OF COMMITTAL by Dr. Fielding D. Russell, brother of the late Senator

O Lord, Thou who are our Parent-Creator, our Brother-Comforter, and our Saviour-Redeemer, Thou hast given man life that he might labor to achieve the deepest urges of his spirit; Thou hast given him death that he might realize the common lot of mortality. Because our faith is fastened in Thee, "because Thy loving kindness is better than life," and because Thy mercy is stronger than death, we repose here the body of our beloved brother, his spirit having already entered Thy tabernacle of righteousness. *Amen.*

BENEDICTION by Rev. Raymond L. Nelson, brother-in-law of the late Senator

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be upon you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

Newspaper and Radio-TV Tributes to Hon. Richard Brevard Russell

Newspaper and Radio–TV Tributes

[From the Acworth (Ga.) Neighbor, Jan. 28, 1971]

North Cobb Remembers

North Cobb countians join with the rest of Georgia in mourning the passing of Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

Although Russell was a native of Winder, many citizens in this area felt a certain closeness to Senator Russell. He was their friend in Washington and they had the greatest confidence in his ability to work for Cobb County.

Sam Peppers, an Acworth merchant knew Dick Russell quite well, long before he made his debut in Washington. Peppers grew up in Winder and recalls that Russell was "quite an inspiration in my early life." The Acworth merchant recalls that his high school class used to go to the courthouse in Winder and listen to trial cases when Russell, an attorney at that time, was handling cases.

Peppers recalls the pride Winder had in their "favorite son" when he was elected to the Georgia House at the age of 22, and later went on to be governor and to the U.S. Senate. "I feel lost without a Dick Russell in Washington," Peppers said.

Peppers' words have been echoed many times already and will continue to be as the full impact of Georgia's loss is known.

Another Acworthian who remembers Russell is W. Paul Sprayberry, former Cobb County School Superintendent.

"Senator Richard Russell was probably the most powerful man in this century, and Cobb County schools, as well as other schools in Georgia are deeply indebted to him for his aid in making impact funds available at a time when they were the most sorely needed," Sprayberry said.

More than once, Senator Russell said: "I have been elected to represent and work for Georgia's interest in Washington—and not Washington's interest in Georgia."

That was the creed he preached, and that was the creed he pursued. From the time he was elected to the Georgia House from Barrow County to his days as president pro tem of the greatest deliberative body in the world. Richard Russell never forgot the people who elected him to office. And Georgians will find it hard to ever forget this great statesman.

[From the Adel (Ga.) News, Jan. 28, 1971]

Publisher's Corner

(By G. C. Patten)

Georgia, the Nation and the world lost a great statesman in the passing of United States Senator Richard B. Russell. Here is a man who brought honor and dignity to the office and to the people of Georgia to whom his life was dedicated. We were there when his body was placed in the Capitol rotunda Friday afternoon. Grown men were shedding tears. President Nixon came Saturday and laid a wreath at the foot of the bier. His words were that he was a "President's Senator." He had been an advisor to all Presidents since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

We recall very well when Dick Russell made his first campaign for Governor. He made speeches to small groups and few people thought he had a chance to be elected, but he wound up top runner in the first primary. He and George Carswell made it a horse race in the runoff but Russell won. We followed his career in the United States Senate with much admiration. On a visit to Washington in the late 30's, Senator Russell sat with our group from Georgia in the balcony. The antilynching filibuster was going on at the time. Three Senators were listening to the late Senator Rainey from North Carolina. After listening for a while, Senator Russell asked if we would like to have the man stop speaking. He left the group, went down to the President of the Senate and asked for a roll call. Senators came from all around to answer to their name. Impressions like this seldom leave one. He loved his home State and was instrumental in keeping Moody Field in operation as well as other military installations in the State. Regardless of who Governor Jimmy Carter appoints he cannot fill the shoes of Dick Russell.

[From the Albany (Ga.) Herald, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell

(By James H. Gray)

This is the measure of man's life:

When he dies, there is universal agreement at the highest levels of Government that he should have been President of the United States.

There is universal agreement, too, that had he been born, let us say, on the plains of Oklahoma, along the sweep of California, or on the tideland of Massachusetts, Richard Brevard Russell would have been President of the United States.

But he was born in Winder, Georgia. And the proudest boast of this patrician but humble man was not that he could or should have become President of the United States, but that he was a Georgian.

And next, that he was a United States Senator. In a very real sense, in the same sense that it was said and may still be said of a spirited few—Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, gallants of this stature—Richard

Brevard Russell was the United States Senate, and the United States Senate was Richard Brevard Russell.

As the alter ego of "the most august deliberative body on earth," the Senate was his life. Few men ever loved this majestic lady as Richard Russell loved her. She dominated his every waking hour. He spent 38 years by her side. In return, she showered him with her highest honors.

He was the dean of the Senate. He was its president pro tempore. He was third in line of succession to the Presidency of the United States. He was chairman of the Appropriations Committee, former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and a member of any of the key committees of his choice. He was the acknowledged parliamentary master of the Senate. He was the Senator's Senator. He was an intimate of the mighty. He was a confidant of Presidents.

The encomiums are endless.

The leaders of his beloved State, his Southland, his nation and the world now will yield him the final respect richly merited by the fully 50 years of the eminent caliber of public service which he rendered to us all as his body lies in the rotunda of the Georgia Capitol.

It is typical of Richard Russell, as a close friend conveyed to us, that in his waning days at Walter Reed Hospital, he recognized the presence of death. He enjoined his family that he was to be returned almost immeditely to Georgia upon his death, finally to be committed to the ground over which he had strode so purposefully as a Barrow County General Assemblyman, as Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, as Governor of Georgia and, finally, as United States Senator.

This was a Georgia man, a Southern man, an American man and forceful fighter for freedom in the world.

Now all of him is gone—and yet all of him is here. It is here and secured for the future by his standards and principles that he never betrayed.

[From the Alma (Ga.) Times, Jan. 28, 1971]

A Man of His Generation

Every generation has its great men. Every era in history has produced men and women of great stature, all the way from pre-Christian times to the present.

This editorial cannot add to the greatness of the late Richard B. Russell. It can only serve as a tribute to his memory.

We agree, that but for his being a native of the south, Richard Russell would likely have occupied the White House.

But, even so, as a U.S. Senator, he was one of the country's most esteemed men.

His passing leaves a vacuum which can only partly be filled by others of lesser greatness.

Senator Russell did not bask in the political limelight as some others did. His renown came from his astute conservatism and political know-how.

Long after others try to reach the pinnacle of greatness that Mr. Russell achieved, and long after many have failed to reach that goal, Dick Russell will still be remembered among those immortals who helped write some of the history of this nation.

The name Senator Richard B. Russell will forever be emblazoned upon the shields of time and memory.

[From the Alpharetta (Ga.) Neighbor, Jan. 28, 1971]

A Great Statesman

There has been a changing of the guard in Georgia's political front.

With the passing of Richard Russell, Georgia has lost one of its most forceful defenders, strong influences and dedicated public servants.

As a member of the House of Representatives, the Governor of Georgia, and a member of the Senate, Russell grew in knowledge of government as well as stature among his colleagues. Georgia found itself in a favorable light among the presidents and diplomats who made policy for the people of the country.

Russell was responsible for the making of much of the country's policy. As chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee, Russell made his views felt in every corner of the world. As an avid supporter of peace through negotiable strength, Russell made strong allies while fighting many voices against his policy. He joined, and in fact, led, the fight against the civil rights bill which eventually passed.

Russell's major goal for the country, as well as his home state, was the pursuit of peace. The fact that he was never able to sit in the White House because of his Southern background gave Georgia the chance to have a great leader, and the country was the loser.

To pay tribute to the memory of Russell befits every Georgian, whether one agreed with all of his views or not. He has served the state with an understanding and ability that may not pass this way for many years again.

History will surely recognize Richard Russell as one of the great statesmen of the twentieth century.

[From the Americus (Ga.) Times Recorder, Jan. 22, 1971]

Russell Statesman

He was a big man Richard Russell, in body, mind and spirit. No one ever accused him of being anything but a Statesman, of the highest order. He seemed never to change as the years rolled by, but rather, held to his earliest principles and maintained loyalties which were dear to his native Southland, and not always in his own best political interest.

Despite personal friendships with many members of the Congress, Senate and many Presidents, who did not share his views, he was solid in his duty to those he represented, never compromising principle for personal gain or expedience.

With seniority came power, but never was power used so carefully and wisely. No one, even his bitterest ideological enemies, ever doubted one second his integrity, or whether he would use the power that was his wrongly.

We have no reservation in saying that had all politicians in the past 50 years held to the same lofty ideal of statesmanship as did Russell, this country would not be

the same as it is today; regardless of what their personal political goals might have been.

Richard Russell was indeed a model elected representative of the people, rising above those around him not simply because of ability, but because of his character, and inner spirit.

Always a progressive, he strived to work within a framework which was acceptable to all the people he represented, and one which would benefit them.

We share the sorrow at his passing with his family, friends, fellow Georgians and countrymen.

[From the Anderson (S.C.) Daily Mail, Jan. 25, 1971]

Senator Russell—Titanic American

It was said by many people on many occasions and under many circumstances:

"If Senator Richard Russell had lived in any section of the nation except the Deep South, he would have been president of the United States."

Not only would he have been president, but he would have joined that select half-dozen "great presidents" who have led the nation since its founding.

National leaders from both parties have literally stripped the vocabulary in the search for laudatory words that would fittingly describe the life and career of this great Georgian.

He had a national image that correctly inspired such words of praise.

Sen. Russell lived in a different, and perhaps a less dramatic and stirring era than South Carolina's John C. Calhoun, but a comparison of the two figures in their contribution to the nation in their respective careers would certainly not be amiss.

The South has, in this century, produced no grander figure, no more profound personality, no greater leader, no more stalwart American figure than this man who spent his early years in a small town nestled in Georgia's red hills, yet grew into a statesman of highest calibre in his contribution to his state, to the nation and to the world.

It is fair and factual to say that Dick Russell, in all of his long life, never sought a personal honor, for the honor's sake,

Many honors were thrust upon him, and he accepted them graciously, but the "honors" he liked best were those with strings attached—like those he held in the United States Senate, and which carried with them added hours of work, mounting responsibilities.

Senator Russell was a life-long Democrat. He believed in the principles of the Democratic party, and he worked diligently within party councils.

But the genuine respect in which he was held knew no party bounds. He was an admired and a trusted leader throughout the nation.

That love and admiration was spread like a fresh morning dew to every nook and cranny of his native state.

In election to his Senate seat, time after time he was usually without opposition, and the years have been rare indeed when he has been forced into the hustings to fight for re-election.

He was no spell-binder on the stump. He used no gimmicks in his campaigns. There was no trace of the rabble-rouser in his makeup.

He simply told his Georgia constituents "like it was," and that was enough.

"If Dick Russell says it's so, it's so," was a natural reaction throughout the state.

In the United States Senate he held almost unlimited influence, but he used it wisely, and for the benefit of the nation.

His final years were plagued by recurring illnesses that restricted his activities, but his thoughts were ever on matters of state.

When word came of his death, there was a pall of sadness that extended over the national capital, and was felt over much of the nation.

A great man had fallen, and the nation knew that it had lost one of its truly great leaders.

[From the Anderson (S.C.) Independent, Jan. 23, 1971]

Senator Richard Russell: A Giant in Government Departs the Scene

Tomorrow the great, near-great and a sorrowing crowd of just plain folks who loved him will gather in his native Barrow County to pay their last respects to one of the all-time giants in American government as Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia is laid to final rest.

His death in Washington at the age of 73, while not unexpected, nevertheless came as a shock to Georgians and his colleagues because he had so often proven the doctors wrong in the years since 1965 when he was first stricken and from which illness he made a recovery considered miraculous.

A true son of Georgia, he walked with Presidents and other statesmen but never forgot that his basic responsibility was to the people back home in his state. He believed that what was good for Georgians was good for all Americans.

His career has been reviewed at length elsewhere, and a brilliant career it was. A little more than 12 years after being elected to the Georgia House from Barrow County, he was sworn in as U.S. senator from Georgia Jan. 12, 1933, a term as governor already behind him. He served in the Senate from 1933 until his death—a total of 38 years, or more than half his life.

In those 38 years, the United States experienced bust and boom, a World War and several other conflicts, and throughout one of the strongest and steadiest hands upon the helm of our ship of state was Senator Russell's.

It would be impossible to relate here even a partial list of the national crises met and the achievements made in which Senator Russell played the leading role. His influence among his colleagues was limitless but he was never known to abuse the power—a rare combination of energy, talent and devotion to public interest—that was his.

Senator Russell was always a friend of South Carolina, and he was in the forefront in efforts to develop the Savannah River Valley from the mountains to the sea. He was instrumental in promoting the canal below Augusta, and was a prime mover of the Clark Hill project. He

worked tirelessly for the construction of Lake Hartwell, devoting his talents of leadership and his wide influence to bringing about realization of that vast project near Anderson.

The nation's defenses are stronger today because of his years as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and the government itself is in better position to resist the present needless buffeting of the economy because of his foresight as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

A gentle man, a gentleman, a man of keen mind and strong convictions, his unfailing courtesy and helpfulness endeared him to his constituents and his colleagues. A modest man, much of his most effective work was unhailed and unpublicized.

In government, he leaves a void—and a valuable legacy of public service. In the hearts of his fellowmen, he will be remembered not in mourning but with warmly felt appreciation for his life and contributions to the nation as a selfless public servant.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Jan. 24, 1971]

GEORGIA'S RICHARD RUSSELL

". . . But if I don't make it, I've been privileged to be around here in high places for the most eventful 30 years in human history and to know some of the great men of history and to have some small share in what was done. I'm going to try to make it, but if not, I'll have no regrets."

So spoke Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia months ago when he entered Walter Reed Hospital in Washington for the tests which revealed the tumor that was to contribute to his death Thursday.

Times had changed, America had changed, Georgia had changed, but Richard Russell, the man who might have been president, had changed little, if any, from the day in 1933 when he became the Senate's youngest member after serving as Georgia's youngest governor.

Russell was to earn over the years a rarely challenged reputation for honor, integrity and a devotion to the upper chamber that brought him such labels as "high priest" of the Senate.

Russell was rarely the fiery battler on the Senate floor, preferring—and working most effectively—as the backstage strategist, the man-behind-the-man power.

With his character and his touch for personal relations, he enjoyed some of the capital's strangest relationships. An original New Dealer, he broke with Franklin D. Roosevelt over the courtpacking plan. In 1948, he offered for president against Harry Truman (and got 263 convention votes) and remained Truman's friend and ablest supporter. He tutored Lyndon Johnson in the ways of the Senate, made the Texan a Senate power but broke with LBJ over civil rights—and remained a frequent White House dinner guest and "Uncle Dick" to the presidential daughters.

Russell chaired the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee from 1951 until 1969, when he moved over to chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, and he was one of the strongest leaders the former ever had.

As far back as 1954, Russell and Lyndon Johnson stopped Pentagon and State Department "feelers" on going to the aid of the French when they were having their troubles in Indochina. A few years later, Russell was critical when President Eisenhower sent the first military advisors to Vietnam. Yet, once committed, Russell accepted the fact of the commitment and pressed the administration for strong and immediate action to bring the action to a rapid conclusion. He wanted no part of a long, cumbersome entanglement in Southeast Asia.

Russell's presidential ambitions came to grief on the rocks of the civil rights issue. The Georgian never budged an inch from his staunch opposition right on through the '60s. And for this Harry Truman wrote of his old friend "If (he) had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been the president of the United States. He had the ability, integrity and honesty."

If one facet of character cost Richard Russell higher office, however, other facets which also sprang from his traditional Southern upbringing enabled him to maintain his unique strength in the Senate, a place from which he had much to give to America.

Russell had his persuasions and convictions and he never tried to conceal or camouflage them to further a cause or promote his own political ambitions. If that "Here I stand" brand of honesty limited his rise it also elevated him to heights where few others walk these days.

[From the Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald, Jan. 22, 1971]

SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL SERVED HIS PEOPLE WELL

The nation has lost one of its most able leaders in the death of Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia. People throughout the world share in part the grief of his family.

Senator Russell spent more than a half-century, all of his adult years, in public service.

At his death he was president pro tem of the United States Senate and one of the nation's most respected statesmen.

Had fate decreed that Senator Russell represent some populous state outside the South, he almost certainly would have been chosen president.

Everyone in high office recognized his ability to see through complex problems, analyze men and issues, and make correct decisions.

As it was he served as confidant and advisor to many presidents and as a leader in the Senate. At various times he served as chairman of two of that body's most important committees, the appropriations committee and the armed services committee.

He earned the respect and esteem of Republicans and Democrats alike. Columnist William S. White once described Senator Russell as "a special force for unpartisan common sense in its most useful form, in a political world all too full of the reverse."

White noted that Senator Russell almost always heard "with skill and perception, the message of the ultimate interest of the United States of America."

Senator Russell began his public service at the age of 22 as attorney for the County Commission in Barrow County. In 1921 he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives and he served there until his inauguration as governor in 1931.

He served as governor for only two years before moving to the U.S. Senate, but during that time he instituted a major reorganization program that helped enable the state to meet the crises of the depression.

Senator Russell will be succeeded by other men, who we hope will make their contributions to the nation. He cannot be replaced.

Still all have this consolation—his contributions are of a lasting nature that will exert a positive influence for year to come.

[From the Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald and Daily News, Jan 24, 1971]

THE DAY I SAT NEXT TO SENATOR RUSSELL

(By Rev. Claude McBride, Minister, Milledge Avenue Baptist Church)

The rhythmic "clickety-clack" of the train's steel wheels slowed noticeably. I looked at my watch.

Voices behind me put my thoughts into words even as they were taking shape in my mind.

"Are we in Athens already?" a soprano asked.

"I don't think so—if we are, we're 20 minutes early," a baritone observed.

The "Silver Comet" continued to break its pace. "Maybe there's been a wreck or else something's on the tracks," another baritone threw in.

"He could be stopping for another train," a tenor suggested.

"Nah," baritone Number One responded—adding with authority: "The Silver Comet don't stop for ANY other train."

"Well, it could be an Army troop train or something," the tenor argued.

"Obviously roommates," I thought. The speculation continued as the deluxe Miami-to-New York Streamliner jerked suddenly still.

Passengers stared out the window studying the darkness. "It's one of those little towns outside Athens," the soprano said.

A little tremor, then very smoothly the train started to move again.

"Wonder what that was all about," the fellow across the aisle said. He voiced the puzzlement written on the passengers faces in the crowded car. The tempo of the "clickety-clack" increased quickly as "The Comet" began to gracefully swing around a long bend.

In the late forties, the Silver Comet did a booming Atlanta-to-Athens business on Sunday evenings. Automobiles were not too plentiful among collegians and the streamliner's timetable was made-to-order for returning University students. The "Comet" made no scheduled stops between the two cities while passenger buses paused in every town or hamlet and missed few cross-roads.

Most everyone seemed to have dismissed the unusual stop when I saw the conductor approaching the north door of our car. He opened it and stepped back for a tall gentleman to enter.

The only vacant space was beside me. He walked—unnoticed—down the aisle clutching a briefcase in his hand. He hesitated in the aisle. "Is this seat taken?" he asked.

"No, Sir," I answered—a little perturbed at giving up my luxury. He sat down, putting the portfolio on his lap, testing the seat with his back. He told me his name but it didn't register. I told him mine and we shook hands.

"You a student at the University?" he queried.

"Yes, Sir, I'm a freshman." I said it proudly, pointing to my "rat cap." He smiled.

"I'm a University graduate," he said. "Course it was a long time ago. So many changes now, you can hardly recognize the place."

I glanced out the window searching my mind for something to say. He was friendly and obviously wanted to talk. He had opened and the only courteous thing to do was respond.

"Are you going to New York?" I asked, partly to have something to say and partly because I wished I was going to New York.

"No. D.C.," he answered smiling.

"Business?" I asked.

"Yes, you might say that," he chuckled.

We talked on then—naturally. He asked how students felt about the Negro student who had applied for admission to the University's Law School. I told him that most thought he should be admitted, a great many could care less and surprisingly there were few real objectors. "Nobody thinks he has a chance though," I told him.

I don't remember all we talked about. He asked questions mostly and I answered. But I do remember sensing that he was unusually well-informed and seemed real sincere about knowing student-thought and activity. I remember, too, when we were talking about fraternities, he admitted he was an S.A.E.

The door opened again and the conductor entered calling "Aaa-theens!" Then with less formality, "Athens coming up!"

I grabbed up my copy of "New Yorker" I'd bought at the newsstand in the Atlanta Depot, my "Green Mansions" and my coat. My reading on this excursion had consisted of the cartoon cutlines in the "New Yorker."

I turned to my anonymous seat partner and said, "I enjoyed talking with you Sir." And I meant it. I was really impressed with how this adult had listened.

"Same here," he replied smiling.

"What was your name again," I inquired.

"Russell."

"Well, I'm pleased to have met you, Mr. Russell," I intoned in my best "fine fellow from fine family" fashion. I hated to sound like that. I joined the procession off the car.

Sitting cramped-up in the back seat of the stuffed taxi it dawned on me. The realization of his identity flashed into my mind with such suddenness I said aloud, "I'll be D(arned)."

"What's the matter, you getting squashed," the 'fat elephant' on my right inquired?"

"No, I can still breathe," I explained. "I just realized something."

Back at Candler Hall, I paid my fare and ran upstairs bursting in on my roommates. All three of them were in. "Guess what?" My excitement flourished and my surprised roommates had no chance to respond.

"I've just been talking to Senator Russell. We sat together on the train all the way from Winder," I boasted.

"Gee," Benny (from Augusta) mocked, "ALL the way from Winder."

The others laughed but I could tell they were envious. My triumph was complete.

They don't know till till this day that I didn't recognize him until I was off the train.

Amid all the eulogy and tribute paid this great Georgian this week, I relived the incident. One news commentator said, "He is a man to be remembered." He is and will be. But I will always remember him most as a friendly, amiable, distinguished gentleman who was genuinely interested in a college freshman—a stranger to him—and how thoroughly delighted he was at not being recognized.

[From the Athens (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

While the nation and world mourn the loss of U.S. Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Winder, those of us in this region have even greater reason to feel the loss his death brings.

He was man of devotion, to his family, his neighbors and to his region.

Senator Russell will always be remembered as the man who brought so many good things to this area that his very accomplishments stand as memorials to his efforts.

We in Athens and Northeast Georgia need but to look about us to see physically what this man did for our area. The University of Georgia campus from which he graduated bears a dormitory with his name and out College Station Road stands a monument to his devotion to agricultural progress which bears his name, the Richard B. Russell Agricultural Research Center.

Soon, we hope, we also will have a Richard B. Russell Memorial Library. This had already been proposed in his honor before his death.

While Senator Russell was a world figure and one of national greatness, he still was a typical gentleman in his associations. His devotion to his family and his home were unequalled. The qualities which he bore through his illustrious and respected career earned him the respect of all with whom he came in contact.

One of his mottoes was "You ain't learnin' nothin' when you're talkin'." This was indicative of another characteristic of a big man for he always had time to hear from the folks back home, whether they came to Washington to visit him or meet him on the streets of his native Winder.

His accomplishments in government, both at the state and national level, will be chronicled now that he has gone. His shoes, however, will never be filled, for he was a man of his time and he did well with it. We all will miss "Dick" Russell but those who knew him and lived in his area suffer the greatest loss of all.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Jan. 22, 1971]

DICK RUSSELL

Among all the thousands of words in the Congressional Directory, devoted to the sometimes self-serving biographies submitted by members of Congress, the shortest of all was that offered by Georgia's senior senator, *Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga.*

It was a modest entry, typical of the man.

Senator Russell, dead at 73, gave in yesterday to a better-than-five year struggle with a lung disease, chronic emphysema. His long battle befitted the man. It was a gallant battle, uncomplaining, a battle Dick Russell knew in the end he must lose.

Russell, aware of his problems of health, always said he would step down at any point when he could no longer serve his constituents. He meant it. He gave his staff stern instructions to be candid about his condition whenver he was in the hospital. He was aware, no doubt, when he last sought re-election in 1966, that he might not live out another six-year term.

We feel certain that Russell would have stepped down at any point when, in his view, his health interfered with his duties. But, at the same time, we pay him the compliment of thinking perhaps he wanted to die in office, to let his life and his long significant career in the U.S. Senate end at the same time.

He never married. He loved his family, the many brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews. He was inordinately fond of the children of his staff members. He seemed an austere public man, almost Spartan in outlook, but those near him found him a warm and friendly man. He never married, but he took as mistress the United States Senate, and his full 38 years service in the Senate amounted to more than half his span of life.

In later years, Russell led the Southern Senate opposition to civil rights legislation. We believed him wrong on that issue and said so. But it's worth noting the reason *why* he was the leader of the Southern group: it was inevitable, because of Russell's own character and intelligence. Lesser men often hid behind that leadership, men who used the cheap demagogic tactics of racist politics to win public office. Russell never did that; he was neither a hater nor a demagogue.

Harry Truman once wrote that Russell probably would have been President of the United States, had he not been a Southerner, and it's probably true. But his service meant much to the nation, from the days when he helped mold New Deal legislation in the 1930s to the years of influencing our entire military structure. He was an adviser to presidents, giving his best counsel when asked, and never then vaingloriously quoting to others what he said to the President or the President to him.

Russell completed his 38th year in the U.S. Senate a few days ago and, in a statement issued from his hospital bed, he thanked Georgia citizens "for permitting me to serve at the very hub of our national life during the most exciting era in human history."

Let that stand as a farewell. Dick Russell was a man of honesty, and character, and devotion to public service. We salute him.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Jan. 23, 1971]

Russell's Heritage

(By Reg Murphy)

"I'm a reactionary when times are good," Richard Russell once explained. "In a depression, I'm a liberal."

Later he would say, "I started out as a New Dealer, and I still am."

Both statements meant to convey to the nation that Russell was humane enough to understand suffering, but unwilling to give away the nation's treasure.

In his own mind, he always said—this bachelor without children of his own—that he "took more pride in originating the school lunch program" than in any other project he ever guided through the rocky shoals from idea to practice.

And behind all the filibusters and the bluster, the denunciations of civil rights bills as "civil wrongs," there was a streak of sentiment in him as wide as a politician's smile.

Once he was tempted as a young man to join the Ku Klux Klan. His father took him aside and said gently, "Son, any organization where the members are not willing to go around unmasked—I'd go slow about that." Russell never joined, and he later denounced the organization.

He called himself "an old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democrat of the old school." He was, and it is as good a description as any of the eulogists is going to fashion.

An old-fashioned man, though, who appreciated the sensibilities. You could walk into his office the day after Christmas or in August (it didn't matter which) and the conference table in the middle of the room would contain gifts from the previous holiday season. It seemed like he wanted everybody to understand that he was appreciated for his human qualities as a private person, not just the dispenser of the nation's wealth through government appropriations.

If you try to take the measure of the man in government terms alone, he was the man of power. More than anybody else, he represented that part of the South which had grown alienated from some specific national aims.

Yet he believed very emphatically that the nation must bind itself together in common cause when it faced international conflict. He counseled President Lyndon Johnson against growing intervention in Vietnam in 1964 and 1965.

Johnson believed, however, that intervention was necessary. That was all Russell needed to know. He joined in the public support for the war in Asia that he believed the nation could not win.

It was that quality of honest, unashamed love of country and understanding of its need for common purposes that kept him from exploding over Vietnam. There are not many newspapermen who talked to him at any length who failed to hear his private concerns about Vietnam. But he kept them private.

Now he has come home forever. He will stand in history as the man who might have been President save for the accident of birth in the South.

Let the historians beware, however. It is impossible to think of him in anyway other than a Southern context, and wrong to believe that he would have chosen any other heritage.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Jan. 23, 1971]

Richard Russell

The clay that was Richard Brevard Russell will make its final journey to Winder today.

The Capitol where the body has laid in state as thousands of mourners passed since late Friday afternoon will close at 3 p.m.

And at 1:30 p.m. Sunday in Russell Memorial Park behind his family home in Winder there will be a walking ceremony to his family cemetery for burial.

He was a great and good man, who already is sorely missed.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Inquirer, Jan. 30, 1971]

Senator Russell

The death of U.S. Senator Richard Russell, Democrat of Winder, Georgia, cast a pall of sorrow over Georgia and the nation last week and leaves a void in national legislative leadership that will be difficult to fill.

Senator Russell was an astute politician who never married but instead courted a nation which he strove to help become a strong world leader.

Ironically, America's position of leadership is now in question and much of the difference between a great, ideal melting pot and just another nation lies in the country's unwillingness or inability to move all Americans into the mainstream of life. Ironically, too, it was the Senator's Southern birth and regional entrapment on the race issue that kept him from becoming President even though he enjoyed a reputation as a tower of strength in other national issues. He was, as eulogized, a tower of strength, a man of great character and a President's senator.

We disagreed vehemently with him on his views on race relations. He fought, with all at his command, numerous bills dealing with civil rights and led a lengthy filibuster against the 1964 Civil Rights Bill which has opened up much of what once was a closed America to black people. But, upon passage of the bill, he counseled all that it was law and should be obeyed.

Black people, through the years, have spoken of many of their antagonists in unkind words on a not-so-respectful first name basis. The Senator, however, was almost always known as The Senator and somewhat respected even when he ranted most against black aspirations.

Richard Brevard Russell was laid to rest in his native Winder Sunday afternoon. His voice will be sorely missed in the Senate he served so well, but so unwisely for blacks.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

The death of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell Jr. leaves a void in the state and in the nation which will not be filled within the foreseeable future.

He was a giant of a man whose influence shaped and molded national policy, particularly in the vital and all-encompassing fields of money and defense.

At his death he was chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee as well as president pro tem of the Senate. Prior to that he had been chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee since 1951.

He was the friend of presidents from both political parties. His influence and support were eagerly sought by whoever happened to reside in the White House.

It is characteristic of the man that although he was a life-long Democrat, on matters of national interest he did not hold to a narrow and partisan view. His outlook was too broad to be so constricted. And he threw his support to whatever he thought in the best interests of the nation as a whole.

"I'm a reactionary when times are good," he said in 1963. "In a depression I'm a liberal."

Sen. Russell's potential stature was indicated when he first entered politics. Going to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1921 at the age of 23, he was designated speaker pro tem in 1923 and was elected speaker four years later.

When his father, the late Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, Richard B. Russell Sr., swore him in as governor of the state in 1931, he was the second youngest governor in Georgia history.

He went to Washington as a U.S. senator in 1933 and there he remained until his death.

Without seeking the nomination, in 1948 Sen. Russell received 263 votes in a Democratic convention balloting for a presidential candidate. Four years later he did actively seek the prize, but the second ballot was his high point and he was not to receive it.

Indicative of the esteem in which he was held, he headed a 1951 Senate investigation of the explosive issue of President Truman's firing Gen. of the Army Douglas MacArthur, and in 1963 was appointed to the Warren Commission which investigated the assassination of President Kennedy.

Throughout his Senate career, Sen. Russell reflected glory and honor upon his native state.

Sen. Russell's accomplishments brought him worldwide fame and renown. At home this is remembered with pride, but at home the senator is remembered for other things. He is remembered for his devotion to his family and to the family home, which was his home at the time of his death, and for the care he took of his family's burying ground near his home. He is remembered at home for his personal charm and rare, dry wit, qualities which he did not trouble to project to the nation and world, saving them for those he knew. He is remembered at home for his pride in his state and in his people who helped develop it from the beginning. He is remembered here for his clean taste for simple things. He is remembered as the father of the University System of Georgia, for he was the governor who organized the system when he reorganized the state, bringing order out of chaos in which separate institutions fought each other for appropriations. In this chaos there was no possibilty for growth or quality.

So will he be remembered by the many Georgians who brushed against him or came within his range. He will be remembered also for his adherence to what he considered to be right, and what he was taught was right as a youth. He believed in the Constitution as interpreted prior to the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt and he did not change his opinions here, though he must have known that modern historians might judge him harshly on this point. In this as in other things he was consistent to the end.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Jan. 26, 1971]

THE RUSSELL PAPERS WILL BE HOUSED IN ATHENS

(By Jack Spalding)

Like nearly every Georgian somewhere on the down side of the high noon of life, I've my memories of Sen. Richard B. Russell.

They are pleasant for he was fond of my people on both sides and he forgave me to some extent for a lot of political views we did not share and which The Journal did not share with him in recent years.

He had a long association with The Journal, this paper having been one of his strong backers for the Governorship and then later in the bitter battle with Congressman Charles Crisp of Sumter county for the U.S. Senate.

(Gov. Russell appointed Major John S. Cohen, editor of The Journal to the Senate to keep the seat warm for him until he could make the race).

Mr. Crisp was one of the distinguished Georgians of his day and the son of another Charles Crisp who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Russells were distinguished, too, but in the view of the Crisp faction not distinguished enough to challenge a Crisp. The Crisp people looked upon Russell as a rural upstart with dangerous traces of liberalism who was all right for the State Capitol but certainly didn't belong in the national one.

This was a tremendous and fiery race, the first one in which I took any great interest, attending rallies and getting so warmed up over it that by election time I had a new set of friends, all Russell people. Everything got into this race, the Power Company (it was on the Crisp side) and religion. Gov. Russell had appointed my father, Hughes Spalding to the original Board of Regents. He was its chairman and also a Catholic. There were campaign posters about the Pope of Rome grasping at Georgians' throats and about a certain percent of state taxes being forwarded to the Vatican. Mr. Russell was challenged on this, I believe at Springfield in Effingham county, and he replied that he didn't think he knew anybody with enough religion to make much difference. That was his cool and off-hand side and he was very good at this. To illustrate his more passionate side, he learned who was behind this foolishness, and that was the end of that group's political influence. The Senator had the satisfaction of outliving these particular political enemies and if there is satisfaction in blocking fine fed-

eral appointments, he had that satisfaction in at least one case, I have been told.

The last time I saw the Senator was in his Washington office as the Goldwater-Johnson campaign was starting. The Journal was back where it used to be, in Russell's corner, having had a lead editorial saying that anybody who challenged this senator was doing a disservice to Georgia. This was when there were some prospective challengers. This pleased the Senator very much and I had a long visit, no interview, just talking. He could be as witty and charming as anyone and this was one of his good days.

I told him I liked Lyndon Johnson and felt he could have stepped out of any Georgia courthouse. Sen. Russell agreed up to a point. He said the difference was that Johnson was a lot smarter than anybody who ever stepped out of a Georgia courthouse and he understood the uses of power better than anybody since Martin Van Buren.

Sen. Russell being smarter than anyone else who had graduated from a Georgia courthouse himself and also understanding the uses of power, this close relationship must have been interesting, not without conflict, and would make a good subject for a thesis.

Sen. Russell spent most of his adult life at or near the center of power. His memoirs, if he had bothered to write them, would have been priceless to scholars and students of Washington.

As it is he left his papers and there are plans to build a special place for them on the campus of the University in Athens. These will be most valuable and the object of scholarly attention for as long as the world is interested in the United States' role in the history of the Twentieth Century.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Feb. 1, 1971]

Russell Memorial

It is both understandable and proper for efforts to be under way to establish a fitting memorial to honor Richard Brevard Russell and his contributions to Georgia.

But we view with less than enthusiasm the proposal that the state appropriate $50,000 for a statue of the senator to be erected on the grounds of the Capitol.

There was once a time and a place for statues and as a result we have an abundance of them. More statues on the Capitol ground are out of step with the times.

All they would do is provide a place for the starlings to roost.

More to the point, we believe Sen. Russell would view such an expenditure of public funds as a waste of money. He was that sort of practical man.

Sen. Herman Talmadge has announced the establishment of the Richard B. Russell Foundation which will erect the Richard B. Russell Library. This will preserve the personal and official papers of the late Georgia senator. It will be connected with the University of Georgia Library in Athens.

It makes a lot more sense for the state to contribute $50,000 or more toward the Richard B. Russell Library, a living memorial serving the people who he served so well, rather than putting the sum in a hunk of metal which would have to be periodically cleaned after each starling migration.

A memorial to Sen. Russell? By all means!

But make it one fitting to the man we are honoring. Make it a contribution to the Richard B. Russell Foundation.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard B. Russell

America has lost one of its great statesmen, with the death of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell.

Senator Russell had represented the people of Georgia in the United States Senate for more than 38 years, demonstrating a dedication to their best interests—and to those of our country—ever since he became a senator on Jan. 12, 1933.

Georgia residents have regarded him, with reason, not merely as a great personality in his own right, but as an institution in federal government. He was the ranking member in terms of seniority. Nor has his service been limited to Washington. For 10 years he was a member of the General Assembly of our state, serving two terms for a total of four years as speaker of the state House of Representatives.

Senator Russell also had served as governor of Georgia, starting in 1931 when, at the age of 33, he was the youngest governor ever chosen by his native state. Serving through the depression years, he met the challenge of financial crisis by adopting a rigid state government austerity system, part of which brought a sweeping reorganization that reduced the number of departments, bureaus and other agencies by 102. One of the first economy moves was to reduce his own salary by $3,950.

In the upper house of the Congress from the time he was 35 years old—the youngest senator at the time—he had compiled a record of such magnitude that it is difficult to do justice to it in any evaluation that is necessarily limited in length. He had been instrumental in developing the Savannah River for navigation, as well as in improving the harbor at Savannah which is a necessary accompaniment to effective barge shipments on the river. He had worked for the betterment of agriculture, rejecting as absurd the complicated mechanics of a program which limited acreage in cultivation at a time when surpluses properly used could feed hungry people. He put his support behind the development of peach production in Georgia. He pioneered conservation and forestry programs.

Devoted to equity and justice, he opposed voting "rights" bills which set up a double standard with Southern states subjected to restrictions from which other states were free.

It was in the area of national defense, however, in which Senator Russell's great knowledge and ability had its greatest impact. As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, starting in January, 1951, he had had more influence on our defense posture than any other senator. One of his first tasks in that capacity was to direct the Senate investigation of the firing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander in the Far East. The senator's fair, impartial and dignified conduct of that probe won praise from partisans of opposed positions on the matter.

In the monumental support to our defense posture which he led and inspired, Senator Russell was forward-looking. He insisted on greater attention to planning technological and scientific weapons, while not neglecting the equally important conventional forces. He fought consistently for adequate funding for the Strategic Air Command at a time when opposition to innovation came from sources opposed to change. His support was a major factor in launching the innovative Polaris-armed nuclear submarine program.

Senator Russell gave up the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee to assume the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, one of the most important positions in the Senate, in that it controls the pursestrings.

All in all, he was regarded as one of the most powerful and influential men in the Senate, not merely because of his key chairmanships, but also because of his knowledge, experience and integrity.

Recognition for Senator Russell as one of the great statesmen in our Nation's history has come from many sources. Among the many such forms of recognition have been—to name a few—his designation by the Reserve Officers Association in 1959 as "Minute Man of the Year in National Defense," and the American Good Government Society's "George Washington Award" in 1958 for adherence to basic constitutional principles.

Many political observers have felt, and declared, that Richard Russell would have been President of the United States had he come from another section of the country. Even so, he received 263 convention delegate votes for the Democratic nomination in 1948, and 294 votes at the 1952 convention. In 1948 he turned down an offer to head the States-Rights Democrats' ticket.

It is a tribute to the greatness of Senator Russell that in recent years no one could be seriously considered as an opponent for the Senate seat to which he returned, term after term. That regard which so honored him while he lived will, through the generations ahead, give him a high and respected place in the history of Georgia and the United States.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Herald, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

Richard Brevard Russell, senior Senator from Georgia and one of the all-time greats of the United States Senate, is dead at the age of 73, victim of a progressively worsening lung condition that had incapacitated and hospitalized him repeatedly during the past several years. During his terminal siege of illness, he had been hospitalized at Washington's Walter Reed Hospital since early December.

The passing of this man who had served the people of Georgia in the Senate of the United States for more than 37 years comes as a shock to his fellow-Georgians, despite his lengthy illness. For in the passage of years between Dick Russell's entry into public service and his death yesterday afternoon, he had become a legend and a figure of monumental proportions. The passage of such men always leaves after-waves of shock and sorrow.

Georgians knew Dick Russell first as the youngest man in its history to hold the reins of the governorship. Assuming office in 1931 at the age of 33—with 10 years of service in the General Assembly already behind him—Russell gave the State an administration that is still looked back upon as a high-water mark in this state's government. With the added experience gained from two terms as Speaker of the House, Russell initiated a program of Depression-bred reforms that included the weeding out of innumerable boards, commissions, and other bodies. Among the groups made obsolete by his reforms were several on which his own father, Judge Richard Russell was serving. Gov. Russell cut his own salary by $3,950.

Elevated to the U.S. Senate at the age of 35, Dick Russell rapidly rose to the ranks of leadership by hard and diligent work and a complete dedication to public service that left him little time or energy for other interests or activities. While keeping always uppermost in mind the needs and interests of his constituency, in such fields as improvement of the Savannah River as a navigable waterway and upgrading agriculture in a State badly scarred by long years of cotton farming, Russell assumed ever-increasing stature in national affairs.

This role reached a plateau during the war years when, as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he poured into that body a new vigor and knowledge of the work at hand that few predecessors had ever approached. It was in this position, in his inspired and inspiring leadership that Richard Russell first tasted national greatness. Adequacy was seldom enough to meet his demands for what his Nation should have to assure its continued survival in a hostile world. Nor would simple competence satisfy. Sen. Russell insisted upon—and got, more often than not—superiority both in materiel and technological know-how and in the planning and organization that went into the Nation's defense.

Another facet of Dick Russell's power evolved in his role as advisor to Presidents, from Kennedy to Johnson to Nixon. A man of enormous prestige, the most highly-respected member of the Senate, and at the time of his death its dean, he early had taken Lyndon Johnson under his wing, helping to elevate him to the Majority Leadership of the Senate. Russell's counsel, widely sought, was earnestly given, attentively received, and when followed paid in fruitful benefits.

Recognition came from many sources—from the Reserve Officers Assn. which designated him as its "Minute-man of the Year in National Defense" in 1959, and from the American Good Government Society in its presentation to him of its "George Washington Award" in 1958 for adherence to basic constitutional principles. A close approach to one of the greatest forms of recognition he could have received, however, fell just short of his grasp when he failed on the third ballot to win the National Democratic Party's Presidential nomination in 1952.

Richard Russell thereafter was content to return to the service of his people and his Nation in the chamber of the Senate. He generalled the long, rear-guard fight against

federal civil rights force bills, and in his later years laid down the burdens of Armed Services to assume the chairmanship of the key Appropriations Committee, one of the Senate's most prestigious—and important, in its control of the Nation's purse-strings. At the same time, he also assumed the duties of President Pro Tem of the Senate, the officer who presides over that body in the absence of the Vice President.

Now Richard Russell is dead.

As he well knew, and readily accepted, in the midst of death life goes on, and the passing of any man is marked by only a momentary hiatus in the affairs of living. This man who never severed his Georgia roots, who could and did claim kinship close or to a degree removed with almost every native of the State, would not want his people to despair—or pause overlong—in their sorrowing for him. But it is the mark of a man such as Dick Russell that, in disregarding what may have been his last wishes, his mourners still do him honor. And to Richard Russell, in Georgia and throughout the Nation he loved, honor shall be long in the paying.

[From the Austell (Ga.) Enterprise, Jan. 28, 1971]

RBR Death Hurts Our Nation

Many millions of words have been written in tribute to the late Richard B. Russell. There is nothing that we can add not already said, but we agree wholeheartedly that he was one of the greatest Americans that ever lived, and that his absence from the Senate will likely hurt our national defense posture.

Unfortunately, there are too many "peace at any price" Senators in the Congress. They believe—or profess to believe—that the Communists will begin to disarm when we begin. How wrong can they be?

We have offered time after time to enter into a joint disarmament program with the Russians. In fact, we initiated the SALT talks which are now going on, but they are exercises in futility, for the Reds won't get down to serious bargaining.

Obviously, Russia is following the North Vietnamese line—or vice versa—in the belief that sooner or later the traitors and peaceniks in our midst will cause us to withdraw from Vietnam unilaterally and to cut so far back on defense expenditures that the Reds will hold a great advantage.

If that should happen, then the days of this nation are numbered. Communists recognize no power but strength. As far as spirituality, morality or just plain decency is concerned, they have no feelings. Their greatest desire is to be masters of the world, and only America stands in their way.

While in the Senate, Richard Russell was a potent power for a strong national defense. With him gone, the Fulbrights, McGoverns, Kennedys, etc. may hold sway, and our strength will go down and down and down.

Georgia and the South will miss Russell on the domestic scene, but the nation as a whole may be the greatest loser at his passing.

[From the Bainbridge (Ga.) Post-Searchlight, Jan. 28, 1971]

This State Loses a Great Son

(By Marvin Griffin)

Death claimed Georgia's senior U.S. Senator, Richard Brevard Russell, 73, last Thursday afternoon, after the great Georgian had suffered several years from emphysema.

Senator Russell's death leaves a void in the United States Senate that will be impossible to fill regardless of whom is appointed to take his place.

I am writing this piece before the funeral, and before Governor Carter appoints someone to fill the unexpired term of our Senior Senator.

I left New Orleans on the weekend to go with a group of friends to Yucatan, and am out of the country. We will have completed three days of shooting ducks, I hope, by the time this article gets in print.

Yucatan is where all the flyways for migratory game come together on the Mexican Peninsula. I have never been to Yucatan before, so I have already written more than I really know about it.

I am both saddened and sorry to realize that after 38 years we will not have Dick Russell to lean on and to depend on.

This great Georgian was sound, and while others were climbing trees to avoid a little zephyr, Dick Russell kept his feet on the ground and weathered tornadoes and cyclones.

DICK RUSSELL DID NOT BELIEVE IN DESTROYING HERITAGE

Senator Russell was proud of his heritage, and he never sacrificed his prestige or his heritage by knifing the people of his native state in the back. At times he stood nearly alone in his defense of constitutional principles and good government.

In this day of unbridled liberalism, where public servants rush to change the fundamental laws of this country to attempt to satisfy capricious whims of some segments of our society, he stood as a balance wheel. He did not believe in "instant law" without regard to how it would be applied to individual freedom and personal liberty in the future.

He was perhaps the greatest student of constitutional law in the U.S. Senate. He had little patience with "homogenized social nostrums" designed to cure all of our ills. He believed in America, and the honesty and integrity of our people.

The nation has lost a great American statesman in the passing of Dick Russell, and the State of Georgia has lost its most distinguished son. The South has lost its greatest champion and its most loyal defender. We shall all miss Dick Russell.

A HALF CENTURY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

It has been a long time, though it seems as if it were yesterday, when Dick Russell was serving as Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. He had the chair

in 1929 and 1930, and in 1930 he threw his hat into the Governor's race.

This young Barrow County native was the son of Chief Justice Richard B. Russell of the Georgia Supreme Court, and a member of a family which included more than a dozen members. His mother was a Dillard, and she also had a big family connection in the hills of North Georgia.

Young Dick Russell took the Governor's race by storm in a runoff at the age of 33. He had served two years when Congressman Charles Crisp of Sumter County announced for the U.S. Senate. Congressman Crisp was a distinguished and an able Georgian, and the descendant of the late Charles F. Crisp, who served as Speaker of the National House of Representatives from 1891 to 1895.

It was a hot campaign, and the big "utility mules" in the state, joined by the big corporations favored the veteran Crisp, but young Dick won the race. This was in 1932.

Dick Russell was really never tried but once during his 38 years in the Senate. That was in 1936 when the late Gene Talmade ran against him. In fact, Gene tried to beat Russell and Franklin Roosevelt at the same time, and suffered the biggest defeat of his political career.

IT WAS RATHER DISGUSTING

Man has only an alloted time on this earth, and when he has completed his existence here, the good works he has performed live after him to bear testimony to his greatness and usefulness to his fellow man.

One of the saddest things to me about the long illness of Senator Russell was the spectre of political vultures sitting around on the low limbs and bushes apparently waiting for the Senator to pass away. They were planning and plotting as to how they could take over Dick's job, and it would take the likes of four or five of that crowd to be able to stand in his shadow.

For the past few years no high level political caucus has been held that some stratagem was not born to attempt to move into the Senate job.

I do not know whom Governor Carter will appoint, but I hope it will not be one of those who waited constantly for the passing of Russell so he could get the job. I know who they are, and I will help beat them, if I can, in 1972, in case any of them are appointed. Georgians should resent this kind of division of a public job.

It will take more than a political hack to fill the shoes of Richard Brevard Russell in the Senate. The average political opportunist will compare with Dick Russell about like a stopper gun would at the firing of a 16 inch cannon.

HAD HE BEEN BORN ELSEWHERE

Dick Russell sought the nomination of the Democratic party for the Presidency in 1948 and again in 1952.

He made creditable races on both occasions, and had he been born anywhere else in the United States outside the South, he would have been elected at one time or another.

National commentators said as much many years ago, but that was before hypocrisy was quite as apparent as it is today.

[From the Baldwin County (Ga.) Free Press, Jan. 28, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Walter Toulson)

A giant of a man, Richard B. Russell. Not since the death of Gene Talmadge and later Walter F. George have Georgians been so grief-stricken as they were when the announcement came last Thursday that Senator Richard B. Russell had died.

Although his death came as no surprise, in view of previous announcement over the past several months of his continued illness, it was still an awesome thing to accept.

Senator Russell was the most respected man on Capitol Hill and had he been from any other state in the Union he would have been President. He sought the nomination a number of years ago and in primaries in the East he ran extremely well considering the fact he was from the South. He was unable to garner enough strength to get his party's blessings and turn down the opportunity to run as the vice-presidential candidate on the ticket.

His shoes will be extremely hard to fill and it will be years before anyone can come close to taking his place, hopefully someone can come forward to afford our great state leadership in this time of need.

Hanging on the wall at my office is an autographed picture of the senator which has meant much to me over the years. Its value is priceless in his death, fully realizing that I will never be able to attain a replacement. Written on the picture are these words, "To my friend Walter Toulson—with warm regards and all good wishes, Dick Russell."

I have felt even closer to the senator in the past few years, since my friend of long standing, Powell Moore, moved to Washington to become personal press secretary to the senator. Powell, one of two sons of Jere N. Moore, Sr., was at GMC when I was there and he and I almost without aid edited and published the school newspaper and the school annual for two years. Powell is a good newspaper man and since the Senator's death might be coming back to Georgia. Hopefully he will.

All Georgians will miss Dick Russell. The prestige he gave our great state will sag somewhat. The seniority he had on two of the major committees is lost and it will be a long time before anyone can make up this loss. A new senator will have to start naturally at the bottom and work up, let's hope our new Governor Jimmy Carter can make the right choice in his replacement.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Jan. 24, 1971]

THE OTHER RICHARD RUSSELL

(By Ernest B. Furguson)

The United States Senate is what it is today in considerable part because of Richard B. Russell, yet it will never be the same without him.

He was publicly flat wrong on the most fundamental political issue of his time, yet he was respected by those who opposed him, and even by some of those whose lives

were made miserable by the tradition he upheld. Thousands of well-reasoned words were spoken at the Capitol this week against the rules of congressional seniority, but this one man's career as chairman of the Armed Services Committee was the best single exhibit of what is sensible about the system. Politicians as unalike as Harry Truman and Richard Nixon said out loud in the past that if Russell had been from anywhere but the Deep South, he surely would have become President.

Anybody born in rural Georgia in the 1890's and aspiring to politics had no choice of course on the subject of race. This son of the chief justice of Georgia was in politics from boyhood, speaker of the state assembly before he was 30, governor before he was 34 and eventually almost four decades a senator. There was a time, when he was not long in the Senate and furious at northern civil rights advocates, that he suggested a federally financed shift of 1.5 million black families to the north and the same number of whites into the south, thus helping "equalize our racial problem."

But that was not typical of him. He was not a demagogue, He never used the word "nigger," once so popular with some of his colleagues in election years. He was an aristocratic, honorable southern gentleman, in all the decent connotations of the phrase.

He defeated a memorable demagogue, the gallus-snapping Gene Talmadge, to come to the Senate. In recent years, he left Georgia's share of fiery senatorial oratory to Gene's son Herman. In the long delaying action against civil rights legislation, he concentrated instead on constitutional and especially parliamentary tactics. He cemented his leadership of the southern bloc when he worked out a compromise to satisfy those trying to block the race-baiting Theodore Bilbo from resuming his seat because of his campaign tactics and alleged acceptance of bribes. That compromise was to let the ailing Bilbo keep his office and staff, but postpone seating him while he went back to Mississippi to die.

Although Russell organized the issuance of the defiant Southern Manifesto after the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, that was show business, and he would not have denied it. And a decade later, when Lyndon Johnson mounted a total effort to put through John Kennedy's civil rights proposals, Russell let the new President know that he would not block it if in the end there would be none of the typical Johnsonian compromising to get the bill passed—if instead he and his southern colleagues were allowed to fight bravely and go down with flags flying. They did.

All that is the most familiar Russell, standing in the well of the Senate, his head tilted back to look down his hawklike nose through his bifocals, producing like a rabbit from a hat some long-buried parliamentary technicality to further delay the inevitable. What is less widely known is the breadth and depth of his intellect, particularly in political and military affairs,

Those with him at the NATO parliamentarians' conference in 1956 remember his handling of a resolution to condemn Soviet intervention in Hungary. Calmly, he delivered a brilliant 15-minute analysis of internal politics in each allied country, and concluded the resolution should be handled by Belgium. It passed.

He was just as informed about American state politics. Younger senators constantly came to him for advice—among them northern liberals who would never want their constituents to know—and when he counseled them he often began by saying, "Now, if I represented your state, I'd . . ." He knew their business as well as they did.

Yet once he was in Washington he seldom intervened in Georgia politics. He devoted himself to the Senate. Other people said Lyndon Johnson was the consummate man of the Senate: Johnson would say Dick Russell was.

His positive achievements include guiding rural electrification and universal military training into law, keeping the Dixiecrats at home in the Democratic party in 1952 by running as their candidate within the party, and defusing the passionate controversy over Gen. Douglas MacArthur's dismissal by his impeccable conduct of the joint congressional inquiry.

Still, in most minds all this is obscured by his long generalship of the segregationist forces in the Senate. Despite that, as ardent an adversary as Robert Kennedy did not believe him a racist. In fact, Russell once told Kennedy that if he too had been born in 1925, he would have had an entirely different position on the subject. We can all wish he had been.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Feb. 1, 1971]

IF SENATOR RUSSELL HAD BEEN FROM OHIO . . .

(By Theo Lippman, Jr.)

Almost every obituary, news story, eulogy and comment of every kind on the death of Senator Richard B. Russell contained Harry S. Truman's statement to the effect that had Russell not been a Southerner, he would have become President. In some cases this was offered as a criticism of Russell—as if he were a failure for not becoming President. In other cases it was a rebuke to the South, for holding back so able a son. In other cases it was a rebuke to non-Southern Americans for holding Russell's racism against him. It seems to me this is all nonsense.

In the first place, if Russell had wanted to be President he could have overcome his Southern liability, by moving to New Jersey, as Woodrow Wilson did before him, or by becoming more liberal, as Lyndon Johnson did after him. If any Southern politician in the 1950's could have safely advocated graceful acceptance of desegregation, Russell could. He was that powerful and secure. He didn't move north or left because he didn't want to.

In the second place, and more important, what is wrong with being a senator? Why does everybody equate political success with reaching the highest office? Doesn't it mean something to have been a senator for 38 years, to have lived by one's own lights, to have been independent, to have gone against the grain? (I think Russell was wrong about almost everything—the cold war, segregation, government aid to the poor, Vietnam—but I never heard anyone suggest that *he* didn't believe in what he advocated.) Doesn't it mean something *not* to have been elected President of a country whose people you are in fundamental disagreement with?

The conventional wisdom is that Russell wanted to be President. He ran in 1952, challenging Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson in primaries, and staying in apparent contention at the national convention for a couple of ballots.

Many people say Russell was so disappointed at losing the nomination then that he was never the same senator again. This overlooks the fact that his days of greatest power if not prestige came after that, in the last Fifties and early Sixties—when he held a full nelson on the swollen military budget as chairman of both the Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations subcommittee. It also overlooks his own comments on the matter. He says he was not a candidate for the presidential nomination.

"I never sought the presidency seriously, but I ran to keep the party more conservative," he said in an interview a year ago. "I was not in favor of Kefauver taking over, and he was just about to do it. I never thought I could be nominated, not with my views. But I campaigned over the country to let state executive committees know our views. I found more conservatism than I expected and I think we mellowed the party, both in its platform and later in Stevenson's campaign."

Maybe that's sour grapes, but I prefer not to think so.

Russell's heroes were the same sort of aloof and stubbornly individualistic senators that he was, men who could never become presidents. Robert Taft was one. Russell called him "the only man I ever knew who reached decisions without considering the political consequences."

When a special Senate committee met to choose the five greatest senators of history, Russell was instrumental in getting the Ohioan placed on the list. He also favored another Ohioan who in many ways resembled Taft—John Sherman. Both were men of great ability and integrity. Both sought the presidency but lacked that political instinct necessary to bring off such a feat of compromise and aggressiveness. Both were also very much men of their region.

What Harry Truman said was, "If Richard Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have become President of the United States." Maybe not, too. He may very well have become the Sherman or Taft of his day. I think that's more likely. Is that bad? Sherman may have done more for his country than the undistinguished Presidents of the last half of the last century; some day, when we have better perspective, we may decide that Taft contributed more than Truman and Eisenhower.

But we are all dazzled by Presidents now. Senators are just spear carriers these days. "If you want to be forgotten in a hurry," Russell said last year, "die as a senator." Judging by the tone of the laments about his death, it looks like he was right. But that is wrong. In a free nation, it may even be dangerous.

[From the Banks County (Ga.) Journal, Jan. 27, 1971]

'The Presidents' Senator'

"The Presidents' Senator," that's how President Richard M. Nixon referred to Richard B. Russell Saturday afternoon at Georgia's State Capitol.

As we thought about the Senator, his life, his love for Georgia, his country, we wondered how a man could stay on top in leadership, in power, advisor to six presidents and yet remain untouched by rumor or scandal as seems the way of men in power today . . . unable to stand against pressure or greed . . . but not so with Richard B. Russell, a man set apart, a gentleman, a man of strong convictions and mind.

He was ever mindful of his constituents back home receiving the respect of his colleagues in Congress, yes, a courteous and modest Southerner, never seeking publicity for himself, but seeking what was best, he thought, for all Americans . . . throughout his 38 long years in the Senate.

We believe Richard B. Russell's greatness began in his early home life, listening to his stories of "back home" in Barrow County. He liked to relate about his home life, his father and mother, brothers and sisters, the happenings of those days. These were the days that formed the character, nobleness and humbleness in this man, a heritage he did not betray.

Looking about us we can see many things that he "caused to happen." One is the school lunch program, a very worthy project, plus many, many others too numerous to mention.

Georgians, all Americans, and even all the world, suffered a great loss, with the passing of this man from our midst . . . Whoever attempts to follow the late Richard B. Russell as Senator, representing our great state and its people, be ever mindful of his standards, only the strong and sincere will survive.

Georgia, America and the world need men who have character, seeking justice, freedom and the right for the pursuit of happiness for all people, always keeping in mind their actions will reflect on mankind for the present and till the end of time.

[From the Baxley (Ga.) News-Banner, Jan. 28, 1971]

He Served His Country Well

Last Sunday afternoon, leaders of our great state and nation paid final tribute to Richard Brevard Russell, who was affectionately known to millions as "Dick."

Blessed with a renowned political background, Dick Russell became a successful and accomplished politician, climbing the ladder from state representative, to Speaker of the House, to Governor and to the U.S. Senate, all in a span of about 12 years.

Sen. Russell was Georgia's youngest governor and one of the nation's youngest, if not the youngest, senators. He was serving as Speaker Pro Tem of the U.S. Senate, the nearest he ever came to the Presidency. He was third in line for that office.

During the 38 years, more than half his lifetime, in the U.S. Senate, Sen. Russell gained the love and respect of his Democratic colleagues and of his opposition. As the most powerful man in the U.S. Senate, he exercised his power always with sound judgment, tempered with respect for others.

As President Richard M. Nixon stated tribute to Sen. Russell last Saturday, he missed becoming President of the United States only because he was born in the South. The President concluded that had he been born

10 years later he would have succeeded to the Presidency.

A bachelor all his life, Sen. Russell devoted all of his time to his state and his country. There is no question but that his accomplishments during a political career spanning a half-century compared favorably with those of any U.S. President. Certainly he had more impact on more administrations than any other individual.

As a respected leader of the U.S. Senate, he helped six Presidents shape policy for this nation. His career covered the Presidencies of Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and a half-term of Nixon. Truly it can be said that he spent his life where the action was and exerted a profound influence on the action.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Jan. 22, 1971]

Russell of Georgia

With the passing of Sen. Richard B. Russell, not only Georgia but the nation loses an able and respected leader.

In his nearly four decades of service in the U.S. Senate, Sen. Russell was loyal to his country, his region and his party.

As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he provided not only leadership in the Senate on military matters, but also counsel to Presidents on whatever foreign problems the nation faced. In later years, he was the distinguished chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

At a time of great concern in his native region, he assumed the leadership of the Southern campaign to combat legislation to which his constituents were adamantly opposed.

But, although he was a resourceful foe of civil rights legislation, he did not resort to demogoguery. While firm in his arguments, he refrained from bombast or howls of defiance.

At a time when others were bolting the Democratic Party in a futile gesture, Sen. Russell remained a loyal Democrat, believing it to be the more responsible course of action to protect his seniority and record of service—and to service his constituents.

It was an irony of his time that loyalty and devotion to his region conflicted with his desires for a higher service to his country. Sen. Russell made overtures for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952, but his bid for the presidency came at a time when no Southerner could seriously contend for that office. But this is no reflection on the qualifications, which he might have brought to the White House.

Some have said that had he come from anywhere but the South, his qualities of leadership and ability would have, in all likelihood, earned him the presidency.

Even so his record of service is of the highest caliber. It speaks of a closeness to his people and a sincere regard for their feelings on issues closest to them, yet an expertise on matters of great national concern.

Sen. Russell will be remembered as an intelligent and honest public servant who consistently strived to conduct himself with dignity, integrity and decorum. He represented Georgia and the South honorably, and he served his nation well. He will be long remembered.

[From the Blackshear (Ga.) Times, Jan. 28, 1971]

The King Is Dead . . .

(By Don Ferrell)

The king is dead . . . Long live the King . . .

This expression was used . . . we are told . . . in Europe when a monarch passed on to his just rewards and his heir ascended to the throne.

This expression always seemed a bit callous to your old editor. The line of succession seemed more important than the man, the dead monarch, or his heir.

Now we're faced with the same situation in Georgia. The "king" of United States senators . . . the late Richard B. Russell . . . is dead and Gov. Jimmy Carter is faced with the task of appointing an "heir".

Sen. Russell's stature in the U.S. Senate was beyond question. He has been called "the most powerful man in Washington."

He was known throughout the land as chairman of the Senate's Armed Services Committee and in this capacity controlled the movings of one of the most powerful war machines in the world.

Sen. Russell . . . from all reports . . . used this tremendous power judiciously and well and rose above the lust for personal gain for the good of the country and the Georgia he loved so well.

But that is all in the past. The king is dead . . .

During his tenure in the Senate, none of Georgia's lesser political princes dared to challenge the "king" in open combat at the polls. He won new terms time and again without opposition.

They all sat back awaiting the death of the "king." When it was reported that Sen. Russell was seriously ill, they circled lower waiting for just the right moment to plunge down.

That time has come.

All major news media have been having a field day in the past few days, predicting who Gov. Carter will raise to the exalted position vacated by the death of Sen, Russell.

Will it be a political unknown who he (Carter) can beat at the polls when the seat comes up for election again, or will it be a strong political force like former Gov. Ernest Vandiver?

In your old editor's mind at least, this will indicate the mettle of our untested new governor.

In any event, the new appointee will face a giant task filling the shoes of the late senator.

The king is dead . . . May the prince achieve like stature . . .

[From the Brunswick (Ga.) News, Jan, 23, 1971]

Sen. Richard B. Russell

The death of Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell is a severe loss to the nation and to the state he served so ably for almost 40 years. He entered the Senate in January, 1933 after serving as Georgia's youngest governor, at the age of 33.

Sen. Russell has been described by his colleagues and others as the most respected member of the U.S. Senate,

and prior to his illness was considered the most influential member of that body.

At the time of his death, Sen. Russell was serving as president pro tem of the Senate and chairman of the Appropriations Committee. For many years he was the able chairman of the Armed Forces Committee.

There is no question about the acknowledged greatness of Sen. Russell. He served the nation and this state with distinction and though some of his colleagues disagreed with his views, particularly on Civil Rights legislation, they respected his sincerity and admired his honesty.

Georgia has never had a greater representative in Congress than Sen. Russell, and the state is fortunate in having had his dedicated services for so many years. We wonder if this state will ever produce another statesman of Sen. Russell's caliber.

The News joins many thousands of Georgians in expressing sympathy to the bereaved family.

[From the Bulloch Herald, Statesboro, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL: HE WAS A GREAT MAN

He had always said that when he could no longer serve the people who honored him with the high office of senator of Georgia and the people of the United States he would step down.

The decision that he should step down was made Thursday afternoon by a Power greater than the people he served.

Senator Richard Brevard Russell, democrat, of Winder, Georgia, died Thursday afternoon after fighting lung disease for more than five years.

People in Statesboro and Bulloch County had close ties with our U.S. Senator. His brother, Dr. Fielding Russell, Chairman of the Division of Languages and professor of English at Georgia Southern College, and his family have lived here for decades. He was one of many brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews to make up a close-knit family in which love and mutual respect reigned.

When Senator Russell's name would come up in conversation, people inevitably would recall that "he might've been the president—if." President Truman wrote, "I believe that if Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been President of the United States."

To us he was a great man. His greatness was not just being strong, but in the right use of his strength. Roswell D. Hitchcock wrote, "True greatness, first of all is a thing of the heart. It is all alive with robust and generous sympathies. It is neither behind its age, nor too far before it. It is up with its age, and ahead of it only just so far as to be able to lead in its march. It cannot slumber, for activity is a necessity of its existence. It is no reservoir, but a fountain."

Such a man was Dick Russell.

Statesboro and Bulloch County join the nation in mourning the death of this great man.

[From the Calhoun (Ga.) Times, Jan. 28, 1971]

A GREAT AMERICAN DIES

A great American and vital statesman is dead.

Senator Richard B. Russell was buried next to his mother Sunday in the clay foothills of his beloved hometown of Winder. Some 300 of the senator's hometown friends waited on the lawn as the motorcade bearing his body arrived at the Russell home. An estimated 1,000 others lined the highway approaching the home and stood silently under pecan trees fringing the driveway.

The mournful crowd reflected feelings of a nation and the citizens of Gordon County, hundreds of whom knew him personally.

In an age when patriotism is often slandered as chauvinism the Georgia senator continued to grip the ideals of Americanism firmly and maintain the respect of a nation.

President Nixon said of him, "What really set him apart was what we call character—character that came from a sense of patriotism that enabled him to serve five presidents with equal devotion."

[From the Camden County (Ga.) Tribune, Jan. 28, 1971]

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR RUSSELL

One of the greatest statesmen of our time has fallen. Senator Russell was literally a legend in his own time. No other member of the United States Senate throughout all the history of America served his nation with greater distinction. He will be enshrined in history along with giants of the U.S. Senate such as Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, and other Americans of great stature.

For more than 50 years, Senator Russell served Georgia and the nation as a state legislator, Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, Governor of Georgia, and 38 years of this time was spent in the U.S. Senate. As president Pro Tempore of the Senate, he was third in line for succession to the Presidency. In modern history, Senator Russell was without peer in the Senate. No other member of the Senate was so beloved and respected. No other member of the Senate has exercised greater leadership or been such an inspiration in some of the most critical times in American history.

He was friend and counsel to Presidents of the United States, and there is no doubt that he would have been President himself, except for the fact that he was from the south. His life was marked by integrity, clarity of judgement, superior intelligence, courage and devotion to duty. Georgia, the nation, the free world, mourn his passing.

[From the Camilla (Ga.) Enterprise, Jan. 27, 1971]

(By Thomas Burson)

We join with many thousands of Georgians everywhere and others throughout the land in paying tribute to the

late Senator Richard B. Russell whose untimely passing last week has saddened us all.

Words can not add one whit to the stature of the man, nor to his accomplishments. As do many, we want to acknowledge a great man, a great life, a great servant for the citizens of Georgia and these United States.

Senator Russell was of a rare breed whose dedication was to total service, with little or no regard for personal profit or pleasure. He lived to serve his fellow man and that he did most ably and continuously.

He leaves a high mark to challenge new comers and the younger generations to follow. It will be many years before his record can be equalled and perhaps bested—but we suspect in the nature of the man great man that he was none will rejoice from on high with more enthusiasm than one Richard B. Russell of Georgia that his life so challenged young Georgians that new and greater things were accomplished.

[From the Carrollton (Ga.) Times-Free Press, Jan. 26, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL, JR.

The "Georgia Giant" was laid to rest Sunday and it is unlikely that a man of his stature will pass this way again.

Richard Brevard Russell, Jr., born in the red clay hills of Northeast Georgia, rose to a position of power, prominence and influence in the U.S. Senate that few will ever attain.

Georgia claimed him but in a real sense he belonged to the Nation. Georgia's and the Nation's loss is a great one.

He served more than half his life in the U.S. Senate. At his death, he had more seniority than any other senator and only one had served longer. As President Pro Tempore, he was third in line of succession to the office of President of the United States behind the Vice President and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

When President Nixon paid his last respects to Senator Russell in Atlanta Saturday, he called him "the President's Senator." Six Presidents called on Senator Russell for counsel and leadership.

At the time of his death, he was serving as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, which is regarded as the most important Senate panel since it considers bills to provide money for all federal activities before this legislation is brought to the Senate floor.

He held many important positions, most of which are known to our readers. We'll mention only a few.

For over a decade and a half, Senator Russell was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He was chairman of the Defense Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, which is responsible for providing money for all the nation's military activities—about one-half of the total annual budget. In these positions he played a vital role in the rise of the United States as the most powerful country on earth. He was a forceful champion of a strong military defense for the Nation and the free world.

A significant consequence of Senator Russell's responsibilities over military matters has been to place Georgia in a strong position to participate in vital defense activities. The 15 major military installations in the State provide civilian employment for approximately 45,000 Georgians and add more than one billion in combined military and civilian salaries to Georgia's economy.

Senator Russell also was ranking Democratic Member of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

These were positions of great power yet Senator Russell regarded the school lunch program, which he authored, as the proudest achievement of his Senate career.

More than 18 million American children—over 700,000 of them Georgians—now enjoy a balanced and nutritious daily meal under this farsighted program. Many of these youngsters are from poor families and deprived homes, particularly in slum and rural areas.

He pioneered a number of agriculture, conservation and forestry programs and was floor manager in the Senate for the 1936 Act that created the Rural Electrification Administration.

Senator Russell was an outspoken champion of the historic rights of the States within our federal system, and he engaged in many Senate battles to maintain Constitutional Government. He served as leader and chief strategist of the Southern bloc of Senators who opposed the surge of civil rights bills in recent years.

His opposition to these proposals was based primarily on his conviction that they were contrary to the Constitution, politically inspired and punitive in nature against the people of the South.

He fought the 1964 Civil Rights bill with every resource at his command but once it passed, Senator Russell urged against unlawful defiance of the statute and appealed for maintenance of law and order.

Twice Senator Russell was put forward for the Democratic Presidential nomination. In 1948, he received 263 votes and four years later, he received 294 votes on the second ballot, many of them cast by delegates from 27 States outside his native South. Former President Truman wrote in his memoirs: "If Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been president of the United States."

Senator Russell entered public life at the age of 22, when he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1920. He served 10 years as a member of that body. In 1930 he was elected Governor of Georgia and took office while only 33 years old—the youngest Chief Executive ever chosen by the State.

He responded with magnificent leadership, bringing the State Government through the crisis of the depression by adopting a rigid austerity program. One of his first economy moves was to reduce his own salary by $3,950.

A model higher education program was established and his reorganization plan laid the foundation on which the present University System of Georgia is built.

Yes, Senator Russell was indeed the "Georgia Giant." Statesman, patriot, dedicated public servant, a great American, a warm and kind gentleman—Senator Russell was all of these and more.

The Carrollton newspapers join all Georgians and the Nation in mourning the loss of this great man. Gratefully, we say, "well done."

[From the Cartersville (Ga.) Herald-Tribune, Jan. 28, 1971]

A Giant Once Passed This Way

The people came to the Georgia capitol and later, in a drizzling rain, they came to Winder.

And those who could not make the trip were a part of the services through television.

They came to pay one last tribute to Senator Richard Brevard Russell before the red clay hills of his native Georgia claimed his mortal remains.

Great leaders of our day—and some from past days—came. The President of the United States came and placed a wreath near the casket of the Senator from Georgia who had served six presidents.

We feel Senator Russell would have appreciated their presence.

But, mingling with the "greats" and the "near-greats" there also came the average man and woman . . . from Bartow County, from the mountain areas and from South Georgia . . . to honor the man who served them well for more than 50 years.

We feel the Senator would have appreciated them perhaps even more.

In a lifetime of service to Georgia, the United States and the world, Senator Russell received countless expressions of tribute and esteem. But perhaps none meant more to him than the knowledge that he served his constitutents well.

President Nixon said he was "a rare blend of courage, character, vision and ability that moved him indisputedly into the ranks of those giants who have served the United States Senate."

Former president Harry S Truman echoed the sentiments of others when he said Senator Russell would have been President had he not been born in the South.

Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge said, "His life was marked by integrity, clarity of judgment, superior intelligence, courage and devotion to duty. Georgia, the nation, the free world, mourn his passing."

Though his body could have lain in state in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, an honor accorded few men, Sen. Russell directed before his death that his body be returned to Georgia for any public services. So it lay in state in Georgia, amongst the people that he served and loved for a lifetime.

So they came, the "greats" and the "near-greats" and the common man . . . all with one purpose: to honor a Georgian . . . a giant of a man who once passed this way and made the world a better place for having been a part of it.

[From the Cartersville (Ga.) Herald-Tribune, Jan. 30, 1971]

Miles-Stones

(By Paul Miles)

We were saddened along with all other Georgians recently at the death of Sen. Richard B. Russell, a man we have known little, but admired greatly for a number of years. He was the kind of quiet leader that Teddy Roosevelt was talking about when he said, "Walk Softly, but carry a big stick."

Sen. Russell didn't seem to carry such a big stick, hut everywhere he went people would stop to listen to what he had to say. We attended the opening of an Alabama inland waterway facility once in Phenix City, with Gov. George Wallace on hand as the principal speaker.

Wallace, at the time was fresh from his first presidential primary successes, and was a popular figure in the south. But I will never forget how the audience cheered when Sen. Russell was introduced from the floor. It certainly wasn't that the Alabamans didn't like Wallace—they did; but it also showed that the senior senator from Georgia was known and loved by all.

I recall that Bill Jordan, an aide of the senator and a friend of mine from college, punched me and said, "This is what we run into everywhere we go."

Some say he was born just a little too early; or that he would have been president. Others say he just came from the wrong state.

We say that if through a change in fate Russell could have been president that he would have still been remembered as a man who dedicated himself to the people and his elected responsibility.

As we said, we knew him little, but the few times we had to visit his office in Washington he met us showing the greatest interest in our problem, and I think in the long run that's what we all want from the people we vote into office. Few will be able to deliver this better than Sen. Russell.

[From the Cartersville (Ga.) Tribune News, Jan. 28, 1971]

A Day at Winder, Remembered

(By Lewis C. Justus)

I haven't talked to him again since that day several years ago.

It was a day that I will never forget because, on that day, I learned a lesson from one of the leading figures of our time.

He set aside a whole day—and we took it—at his home in Winder to spend with a smalltown newspaper editor and a youngster right out of college, ready to attack the world and its problems and solve them.

There was no uniformed butler or maid to greet us at the front door of the house in Winder—Senator Richard Russell met us himself and it was as if Editor Jack Parks and I were cousins, dropping in for a visit.

And it was that way throughout the morning; we talked about things in Washington (and it's impossible now to recall what the problems were that day), about things in Georgia. We talked about personal things . . . about people that the Senator knew in our hometown, about the school that we had attended, about how the paper was going and how much he loved the mountain county where we lived.

Today, looking back on the morning and on the meal of country ham and hot biscuits that we ate at lunch, and remembering all the Senator's accomplishments, it's difficult to accept the fact that death has claimed him.

Today, looking back on that afternoon when we left his house and drove to his family cemetery where we walked and talked for another hour, it's difficult to realize just how many years have gone by since that day in Winder. It seems only a few weeks.

Maybe it's because of what the day has meant since then. Perhaps it's because I remember some advice he gave me: "Just do your best, be honest, and you'll be all right."

Perhaps it's because, maybe for the first time that day, that I realized that the smallest people are those who try to be big people.

And maybe I found out for the first time that it's the big people who really have the biggest hearts and the time to stop to talk to you and do things for you and give you advice worth listening to. They don't have to try to appear to be "big people." They already are.

Senator Russell was a big man. And one doesn't forget that kind of bigness.

[From the Cedartown (Ga.) Standard, Jan. 26, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL—OUTSTANDING

Of the many tributes written to Dick Russell, it can be said with assurance: No one tribute can fully list the accomplishments; the good deeds; the impact upon local, domestic and world affairs; not the void left in the circles of government and in the hearts of his friends who admired and loved him so.

It is doubtful, too, if history can fully evaluate him as a statesman; a leader; or even an individual. The very fiber of his makeup held an unknown; an innate quality that placed him beyond his peers in statesmanship; but on a level with every human being—with whom he shared compassion; understanding; love and a willingness to be of service to everyone.

Dick Russell epitomized the role for the very excuse for human existence—a question that man has asked eternally—Why am I born? His record of service to his fellow man—answers the question. The law of cause and effect is irrevocable. The service he rendered to his fellowman is ample proof that he fulfilled his destiny.

The pages of history may record his accomplishments but he will be better remembered in the hearts of his countrymen. Georgia should rejoice that she gave birth to such an illustrious statesman. Georgia should weep—but be grateful—that he chose to return home to have his remains lie in the soil that he loved so much.

When possible, Dick Russell read every letter that came into his office. He signed every letter that went out. He literally pounced on every opportunity to help a fellowman—no matter what his station in life—as if every favor returned, was a precious jewel.

He was called great because he gave advice to many Presidents and other officials in high government circles. Greatness was not the correct word in this instance: humility is the word. It was with humility he gave his counsel to them.

His greatness was his ability to serve the common man; his ability to understand his problems; to lend his support; his influence and give such as he could to help his people. Whereas greatness seeps from the highest level to the lowest; humility rises from the lowest level to the highest.

Only time is real. Although time has been piecemealed by humans; it is the ultimate. Created by God—time is real; it is valuable or worthless as each individual chooses to use it. Dick Russell used it well. His use of time encompassed the two majestic qualities of justice and mercy.

As the gentle winds pass over this hallowed spot where his mortal remains rest, let us hope they will absorb the virtues of patriotism and service to fellow man. May this air be breathed by every American and become a part of our lives and our national heritage.

As each gentle drop of rain falls upon his grave, may a tear from the Angels of Justice and Mercy, fall likewise on this hallowed spot in America. Such is the reward for service to his fellow man.

[From the Central Georgia EMC Hi-Liter, Feb. 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By R. F. Armstrong)

I feel an inadequacy even to attempt to pay tribute to the life of this great citizen—this man who served his fellowman over a half century and who gave so freely, so unselfishly and so untiringly of himself and his talents. I wonder how many among us could be strong enough to take the success that was his yet remain as unselfish as did this great man.

The effects of his wisdom and leadership will be felt for many generations to come. Even though he reached the pinnacle of national and international acclaim, he never lost sight of and interest in his native state of Georgia. Although he could have received a national funeral and burial, he elected to be returned to his home state for funeral services with his body being interred in his native soil.

There will be many books written by gifted writers about this great and noble man. His life is the symbol of a challenge to future generations to strive to follow in such a great man's footsteps. In the complexity of our present-day society, I doubt that there will be any man who can come near to meeting his record.

Taking nothing from his many accomplishments from a national and an international standpoint, yet one cannot help but wonder just how far reaching his influence

under the leadership of five United States presidents, who sought and welcomed his counsel, went.

In my opinion, the two national accomplishments where he reached the lives of the most individuals were: (1) The school lunch program; and (2) his work and dedication in the formation and continued growth and well-being of the Rural Electrification Administration. As many of you are aware, money is appropriated for the REA Program by Congress on a year-to-year basis, and Senator Russell always supported and worked for the interest of this Program. Had it not been for a man like Dick Russell and his steadfast support of this Program there would be many, many thousands of people living in the United States today without the benefits of central station electricity. We in rural America will always owe a debt of gratitude to Senator Russell!

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

A career politician, who learned the trade in the state legislature and the Governor's office in Georgia, Richard B. Russell went to the U.S. Senate and shone for 38 years as a brilliant practitioner of national statecraft. At his death Thursday in Washington at age 73, he was dean of the Senate, chairman of the Appropriations Committee and respected not only by his colleagues but by fellow citizens everywhere.

Even those who disagreed with Sen. Russell had to admire him. Unfortunately for the country, disagreement with Sen. Russell's political philosophy in recent years too often has won majority support. His views on the federal system, which became confused in the public mind over "civil rights," and his insistence on national military strength went out of style as the Republic sank deeper in a mire of phony liberalism.

Actually, Dick Russell won election to the Senate in 1936 over Gene Talmadge as a supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt. At that time the New Deal was regarded as "way out" in some quarters. He had first won a seat in the Senate to fill an unexpired term.

As Governor of Georgia, at age 33, Dick Russell put the state on a "pay-as-you-go" basis and cut his own salary by $3,950 a year.

Sen. Russell was proud to be a Southerner. Some observers have said the region of his birth was the chief reason why he never became President. Twice he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination, but anti-Southern prejudice denied him the office.

Like Mendel Rivers, whose death preceded Russell's by less than a month, Dick Russell believed in national strength. Last year, in reviewing the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, Sen. Russell disclosed that he had implored President Kennedy to clean out Castro in Cuba. He still was convinced that had his plea been heeded, "we wouldn't be in this trouble in Vietnam now."

Never married, Sen. Russell devoted full time and attention to government. Courtly in manner, sharp of intellect, a patriot to the core, Richard B. Russell earned perpetual honor and gratitude from the American people.

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL SERVED WITH COURAGE, INTEGRITY

The search for the measure of a man could begin and end with the Congressional directory. Yet with all of its biographical overkill, covering everything from high school athletic records to fraternal lodge memberships and war records to subcommittee posts, it says only this about one of the most powerful men ever elected to the U.S. Senate:

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

That one line says more than anything else could about the unique position that Russell enjoyed as a result of the seniority system. It says that everyone knew, or should have known, that Russell was chairman first of the Senate Armed Services Committee and then of the Appropriations Committee, that he had never been seriously opposed for re-election, that he advised and influenced and in some ways controlled six Presidents.

Russell's career in the Senate began on Jan. 12, 1933, a week before Franklin D. Roosevelt began his second term as President, and ended with his death on Jan. 21, 1971, the opening day of the 92nd Congress.

During those 38 years, he exercised power with southern courtliness and charm. Although he stood directly in the path of civil rights progress, his accomplishments in other areas were considerable. He should be remembered more for this than for the obstructionism which ultimately failed.

Russell was the head of the anti-civil rights forces in the Senate. The oval table in his office served as the meeting place for the Southern Democratic caucus. But he never resorted to racist positions. When in 1964, the 83-day filibuster against the Civil Rights Act was broken, he went back home to tell his people, "it is now on the books and it becomes our duty as good citizens to learn to to live with it."

Russell's efforts to strengthen the armed forces were not without benefit to his home state. There are no less than 15 major military installations in Georgia, and it can't be disputed that his influence in the Senate and with President Johnson helped land a $2.2 billion C–5A transport contract in Marietta.

But he also saw from the beginning the folly of the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. When President Eisenhower proposed sending aircraft to help the French in Dienbienphu in 1954, Russell vigorously opposed it. He said later, "I knew we would not be able to get out once we got in."

Russell's passing may signal the end of an era in which men of the rural south, or of anywhere else, could acquire power by simply being in Washington the longest. The day he died, the House Democratic caucus adopted revised seniority rules that permit committee chairmen to be elected for reasons other than seniority. House Republicans had already agreed to a similar measure and it is hoped that the Senate will get the message and do likewise.

The system not only permits intelligent, courageous and moral men to ascend to positions of almost unlimited power, but fools as well. We are fortunate and grateful that Richard Russell was the former.

[From the Chatsworth (Ga.) Times, Jan. 28, 1971]

SPEAKING OUT

(By Max Caylor)

Richard B. Russell was a great man of government. He was not the flaming Senator that gave his opinion of every issue just for publicity. Rather, he was a man, that when he did speak, others listened. "The Presidents' Senator" as he has been called by Nixon, was truly a fitting title for such a man of state.

Senator Russell was the youngest Governor of this state and he was the last governor to reform our state government in 1933. Combining jobs and cutting salaries was the order of the day as Governor Russell did that which was best for the people of Georgia.

While other Senators were vacationing in Washington Senator Russell was reading legislation, even the fine print, so that he would be informed to better serve the people of this country.

Much loved and much admired Senator Russell did his job without all the Washington social life. He was a man that could "get the job done" and everybody knew it.

He knew the who, what, when and the how of politics. Not using his power except for the people, he was the "leader of the south".

Senator Russell, even in death, won a victory for the south as he cast the deciding vote against Ted Kennedy in favor of Senator Robert Byrd.

A man that cares and devotes his all to the people; where will the state of Georgia find another?

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

One of the giants of the United States Senate passed from the scene with the death of Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia at the age of 73. First elected to the office in 1933—after serving as the youngest governor of Georgia in the history of the state—Senator Russell has spent more than half his lifetime as a member of the chamber.

The personification of the Senate's exclusive-club atmosphere, the Georgia Democrat wielded tremendous power as a first among equals of the inner circle of leaders from both sides of the aisle. The force of his personality, the integrity of his character, the astuteness of his parliamentary maneuvers, all added to the influence he made felt on every action of the Senate.

He did not always win, for times and moods changed while Richard B. Russell altered his principal convictions but little in the 38 years he spent in the Senate. He was a Southern Democrat which meant a basic conservatism in matters of states' rights and individual privileges, tempered as so often is the case of a broader view of the nation's role in the world.

Slow to give his word or to demand another's promise, he was unyielding in his expectation of fulfillment of either. He was honest in his disagreements with his fellow senators when differences occurred, but he rarely reached the point of derogation in debate.

As a result, he was respected by all his colleagues and genuinely admired by most. He was named president pro tempore of the Senate as the choice of the members themselves to preside over the body in the absence of the Vice President who is constitutionally delegated in that authority. It is a partisan choice, to be sure, in the sense that the majority party can always work its will in the selection, but for Senator Russell, the feeling is that he was quite as acceptable to a great many Republicans as would have been any one of their number.

Able, articulate, rigidly disciplined in mind and manner, Richard Brevard Russell honored his state and his nation in his long service. Of whom can there be said more?

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) State Tribune, Jan. 25, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL OF WINDER, GA.

The story of Sen. Richard B. Russell was unusual, for here was a man of great, inherent modesty and simplicity who perhaps because of his unique personal traits, managed to exercise power with—as Senator John Stennis said in his eulogy Saturday—"uncommon common sense." It was fitting that within the keeping of tradition, he was buried in the backyard of the modest, two-story frame house in Winder, Ga., in a family cemetery.

Senator Russell, respected and admired by his colleagues in both parties, seemed to represent another age, one in which the personal touch was maintained, one of kindliness, courtesy and, in a sense, chivalry. In the abrasiveness of our times they appear old-fashioned, as out of date as neighborliness. But are they really? Or was Russell in his latter year "with it" as the modern jargon would express it? One must examine the final hours of Senator Russell who had given his proxy in the Democratic Senate organization so that it might be exercised if he still lived.

Thus this man was a constant factor in the governing processes of the nation almost literally to his last breath. The vast respect accorded him, illustrated by President Nixon's trip to Atlanta to pay his personal tribute and by the many who came from far and near—people of eminence in national affairs as well as neighbor-folk—attested to Senator Russell's own great stature and his exceptional contributions to the welfare of our nation.

Russell stands in sharp contrast to some of his fellows who have become popular images on the national political scene through various mechanism including their own publicity-getting devices, through the media and other means.

One seldom if ever saw him on television; he was rarely in the news, he was hardly ever sought out for interviews probably because he did not accord them. Yet here was a man who was sought out by Presidents for advice and who was the heart of power in the U.S. Senate. While others mouthed-off, he quietly performed. This alone made him a rare retiring individualist in a gathering where the tendency is to seek to stand out, for one purpose or another.

Our imitativeness leads many of today's young to emulate the more gaudy of our leaders. But they could well consider the unusual personal qualities of Richard

Brevard Russell of Winder, Ga., the brief one-line biography he listed for himself in the Congressional Directory.

Sen. Richard Brevard Russell came home to his beloved red clay in the Georgia foothills Sunday for the final time. In death he was flanked by the uniformed men he supported so steadfastly in life, and cloaked in the red, white and blue he defended so diligently.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Jan. 24, 1971]

GIANTS OF DEFENSE

Within less than a month death has stilled two of the most powerful adherents of a strong national defense. The American military and the American serviceman never had a more powerful advocate in Congress than L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, or Richard B. Russell, his counterpart in the Senate. Rivers died Dec. 28. Death came to the dean of the Senate on Thursday.

Russell had served on the Armed Services Committee since he first entered the Senate in 1933, after being Georgia's "boy" governor. For more than 15 years Russell was its chairman, one of the most influential posts in either house of Congress. Russell switched in 1969 to become chairman of the Appropriations Committee, on which he also chaired the defense appropriations subcommittee. In making the change, the 71-year-old Georgia veteran said he would still have "as strong a voice in the really important matters of military decision and policy as I have ever had."

That voice had been preeminent in all matters of national security. President Nixon recalled that six Presidents had relied on Russell in matters of vital national interest and none had ever been let down. It was Russell, indeed, who used his influence in 1968 to win Congressional approval for a start on the anti-ballistic missile system.

Tho devoted passionately to keeping America militarily strong, Russell was an independent-minded leader. He opposed a volunteer army on the ground it would be too expensive and would weaken civilian rule over the military. And from the very beginning, Russell opposed any American involvement in Viet Nam.

Russell could see no American advantage in sending advisers and technicians, let alone troops, to Viet Nam. It would be "a long drawn out affair, costly in blood and treasure," said Russell. But once the flag was committed, Russell followed the flag. He supported the strongest possible measures to protect the American fighting man in Southeast Asia.

This was in keeping with his entire philosophy. "Helping to keep our armed forces strong" was to Sen. Russell his major career accomplishment. The same words might equally have been spoken by Rep. Rivers.

[From the Cleveland (Ga.) Courier, Jan. 28, 1971]

FROM THE EDITOR

Dick Russell was a true friend of The Editor.

We have known each other since World War I. We have been closely associated with him since he was a member of the Georgia Legislature and followed him closely since. Dick always tried to follow our desires in the development of our mountain section. He accomplished many great and fine things.

He had great plans to see that a real highway be built from Tesnatee Gap to 129 in Blue Ridge District. The last talk we had with this great statesman in his home in Winder was that he intended to see that it was built and we would have a great celebration.

There would not be the Senator Richard B. Russell Scenic Highway if he had not used his great power and influence. He was positively true and White County should mourn his passing.

The Editor has lost a consecrated and devoted friend and the nation and the world the greatest statesman in our time.

Dick Russell wisdom is greatly needed now.

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Jan. 23, 1971]

DENIED THE PRESIDENCY, RUSSELL GRACED THE SENATE

The death of Georgia's Senator Richard B. Russell has brought forth tributes from Americans of all walks of life and all sections of the country—united in praise of a great United States senator.

South Carolinians, however, feel a special loss because of a special bond with the distinguished Georgian. Almost a quarter century ago, "Dick" Russell was the choice of South Carolina Democrats for President of the United States. Again in 1952, South Carolinians at the Democratic National Convention backed him for the presidential nomination.

Had Russell received the nomination at Philadelphia in 1948, there would have been no bolt by the States' Rights Democrats under Strom Thurmond, for Russell personified the South's opposition to President Truman's civil rights program and to the centralization of power in Washington.

Had Russell been nominated in 1952, he would likewise have swept South Carolina and the South. Furthermore, he would have drawn powerful support throughout the nation, for even then his stature as a statesman and a senator was such that he commanded respect from all who knew him.

But Richard Brevard Russell came from the wrong part of the nation to become the nominee of a national political party. The regional discrimination which thwarted Russell was feelingly portrayed by Washington columnist William S. White when it was learned almost two years ago that Russell was seriously ill:

"He has not simply been a senator from Georgia," White wrote, "but rather, in the best and highest meaning of that old-fashioned term, a senator of the United States of America. On every single ordinary and rational test of performance, of competence and of private and public honor, no politician in his time has more clearly and more repeatedly earned consideration for the highest office of them all . . .

"But the trouble for Richard Brevard Russell has not been that he ever lacked the ability to be an outstanding President but only that he was born in the wrong place and the wrong time and thus was forever denied even a

chance at that elevation which otherwise could hardly have been refused to him.

"In a word, the door to the White House was locked and nailed up against him because he was 'a Southerner' and thus a member of a lesser breed without the law . . ."

South Carolinians mourn the death of Richard Russell, as they mourn the loss of their own patriot and champion of national defense, Mendel Rivers. But in Russell's case, they have occasion to lament the passing of a man who not only could have been, but should have been, President.

[From the Columbia (Mo.) News, Feb. 17, 1971]

INTOLERANCE CLOSED DOOR TO RUSSELL'S ASPIRATIONS

(By Earl L. Bell)

"From another part of the country, he would have been a President of the United States."

So said Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana anent the recent death of Georgia's U.S. Sen. Richard Brevard Russell, thus echoing, in effect, the words of former President Harry S. Truman, a Missourian, and numerous other notables, Democrats and Republicans alike.

And, moreover, President Richard M. Nixon, eulogizing the Georgia Democrat, said, in part:

"He was one of the most magnificent Americans of all time."

Why, then, was the illustrious Southern statesman never named his party's choice for the Presidency? And the question is even more pertinent not only because he was so eminently qualified, but also, to perfection, looked the part.

The major obstacle was of course, his Southern heritage, — a handicap which has existed ever since the winds of hate all but extinguished the lamp of reason during the war-torn 1860s and which left, in their sanguinary wake, certain passionate prejudices which are with us still, both North and South.

And so Dick Russell, well aware that the intolerant winds had long since banged shut the White House doors against his kind, had no illusions that they might open for him; and toward the last he also realized that the portals of the Supreme Court likewise seem to have been barred to Southerners, — as witness the Senate's prompt rejections of Federal Judges Clement Haynsworth of South Carolina and Harold Carswell of Georgia for places on the uppermost bench, — actions which, as President Nixon charged, were due solely to their being from the South.

ANTEDATED CIVIL WAR

Coming from one side or the other of the Mason-Dixon Line, according to kind, this mutual animosity kept such national figures as Clay, Webster and Calhoun from the White House due to slavery, tariff and other issues, and, for a long time after the war, there was to be no Southern-born Presidents, although the harassed Andrew Johnson, who automatically succeeded the slain Lincoln, was a Tennessean. Johnson, however, was elected as a Unionist supporter of Lincoln.

The South exulted in 1876 when it seemed that Democrat Samuel J. Tilden of New York had defeated Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for the Presidency. Tilden polled a slight majority of the popular votes and, with 184 electoral votes, was just one short of victory, while Hayes had only 163; but the returns in four states, including South Carolina and Florida, were challenged by the Republicans. Attempts by Congress to resolve the dispute having ended in a deadlock, a special election commission was appointed and prodded by the Washington administration, it declared Hayes the winner. Thus, elections notwithstanding, the North was not yet willing to let a Democrat take over.

Hence the South rejoiced exceedingly when, in 1884, Grover Cleveland of New York was elected 22nd President by an unquestionable majority. For instance, the Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist, on the morning after his victory, proclaimed across the top of its front page: "Thank God, We have a Democratic President!" But Southerners were soon to learn that Cleveland was not their kind of man, and their ardor dimmed, especially, when he entertained a black man and his white wife at the White House as guests of honor.

Cleveland was defeated by Republican Benjamin Harrison in 1888; but was elected again in 1892 with the disillusioned but still unbreakable "Solid South" still on his side.

WOODROW WILSON

The Republicans returned to power in 1896 when William McKinley defeated William J. Bryan, and, with Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft following, remained in control for three terms.

Then, in 1912, the South — and Augusta particularly — exulted again when Democrat Woodrow Wilson won.

Augusta's jubilation was boundless because Wilson was, in fact, "a hometown boy."

Although born in Virginia, Augusta had been his home from his infancy in 1858 until 1870, during which time his father, the Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, was pastor of First Presbyterian Church on Telfair Street. The family lived in the manse at the corner of Telfair and Eighth, a building which, like the venerable church itself still stands. Thus Wilson's youthful impressions of the Civil War then raging around him were Southern in sentiment, and one of his most haunting memories, he used to say in after years, was the sight of Jefferson Davis, captive President of the crushed Confederacy, being taken in chains through Augusta's streets by Union soldiers and put aboard a Savannah River boat for transfer to a Northern prison.

Now, the irony of the Wilson sage was this: Had the family moved to Georgia two years earlier, Woodrow would have had no chance for the Presidency simply because of his deep south birthplace. . . .

And hopeless also it would be for any man of the present day—a man of Southern birth and feelings, that is—to seek that office.

It might be argued, of course, that there have been four other Democratic Presidents since Wilson's day. Yes, but none of them bore a realistic Southern brand. Franklin Roosevelt was a New Yorker, Harry Truman a Missourian, and, though both Dwight Eisenhower and Lyndon Johnson were Texas-born, the former counted himself a Kansan and the latter is but a quasi-Southerner in

that the Texas of his time has sought to identify with the West,—as he, too, has done.

Yes, the prejudices of the past still hold sway; and that—as even his political adversaries admit—is why Georgia's Richard Russell—"one of the most magnificent Americans of all time"—never attained the White House.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer, Jan. 22, 1971]

Russell of Georgia

At no time, since the grand old State of Georgia stood proudly as one of the original 13 colonies, has she so deeply felt the loss of so great a human resource as Richard Brevard Russell.

The falling of this giant of a man, one of the very few universally acknowledged as a statesman while he lived, will be painfully felt wherever in the world free men trod.

So effective was Richard Russell in the United States Senate, the level of power and prestige he achieved can be matched by only a handful of men in history, and likely will never be achieved again by any individual.

For years, until the time bad health began to interrupt his enormous activity, it was considered essential for just about any major legislation to first pass the "clear-it-with-Dick" test. Lyndon Johnson was one of the most successful Senate Majority Leaders in history because, and only because, Dick Russell was his mentor.

This great Georgian came to wield such tremendous power because he was a complete senator in every sense of the word. His knowledge and wisdom dealt with great economic questions as readily as complex defense issues. He had a long vision, which looked past the immediate view and examined the horizon, yet he had an awesome close-at-hand grasp of detail and fact.

That Richard Russell for so long reigned as the most respected and influential member of the U.S. Senate can be attributed to his enormous ability, his impenetrable integrity and his uncompromising gentlemanliness.

These same finished characteristics, which caused him to be time and again selected by his Senate colleagues as their most effective member, also caused him to command the sustained respect of the national press—an achievement not a single other conservative Southerner can boast.

Even though the Southern bloc in Congress relied on the leadership and extraordinary parliamentary skill of Sen. Russell, no one could successfully label him a racist nor would a thoughtful person dare to try. The valiant battles he fought were grounded on constitutional principles.

Richard Russell had all the qualifications to serve his country as a great president, and very well might have were it not for the fact he represented a Deep South state during a time of major change, or had his years of service bracketed a time span a few years earlier or a few years later.

Sen. Russell did not generate nearly as many headlines as some of his colleagues, but the weight of his almost unbelievable influence was never doubted in any area of the national government.

On the main streets of much of America, this great Georgian, because of the way of things, probably will be remembered most for engineering major civil rights battles in Congress. This is unfortunate because Sen. Russell is personally responsible for literally volumes of legislation that have touched and improved lives in every corner of this nation.

It was he, for example, who initiated the school lunch program which now serves 18 million American youngsters. He was a staunch supporter of conservation and water resource development legislation and a hero of the American farmer because of his unswerving support of programs aimed at making agriculture share in this country's prosperity.

The native of Winder in Barrow County was unfaltering in his efforts to preserve this nation's military might and, more than any other man, possessed detailed knowledge of the U.S. defense posture. He served with distinction as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and in recent years the even more powerful Senate Appropriations Committee while maintaining a key position on the former committee.

Sen. Richard Brevard Russell was himself the source of Georgia's greatest pride. The fine national figure he cut through the years has caused a tugging of the hearts of his fellow Georgians each time the words, "Russell of Georgia" echoed over the nation's airwaves.

He was an outstanding public servant from the time he first entered the Georgia Legislature at the age of 22. He became Georgia's youngest governor at 33.

He was indeed a giant who walked among, and was admired by, giants. He didn't speak often but when he did, the other giants listened.

Georgians will always cherish the memory of Richard Russell because he reflected such great credit upon them. He served the republic he so loved with unswerving devotion and unmatched distinction.

A gaping void will have to remain. Dick Russell cannot be replaced.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger, Jan. 22, 1971]

Magnificent Ability for Leadership: Richard Brevard Russell

I do not think I have ever known a greater legislator, a man of more ability, or a wiser or better man—Lyndon B. Johnson.

If . . . he had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may well have been President of the United States—Harry S Truman.

These two former Presidents of the United States were talking about Georgia's Richard Brevard Russell, who until his death yesterday had served 38 years in the U.S. Senate, many of them in some of the most powerful and important positions in that august body.

Senator Russell was a giant in the Senate, where he served more than half of his life as a Senator from Georgia.

Georgia's Russell had served in political office for a half-century. He was a state legislator from Barrow County for 10 years, serving four years as Speaker of the House. He was only 28 when selected for that important post.

He was elected governor in 1930 at the age of 32, and his administration reorganized the archaic arrangement of the state government.

Two years later, at the age of 34, he went to the U.S. Senate, and served there as a leading participant in the debates and decisions of an historic four decades.

Russell's first term in the Senate coincided with the famous "100 days" of New Deal legislation sponsored by a man who had just become President—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The nation was in the depths of the Great Depression, and Georgia and the South were still trapped in the economic morass which had its roots in the Civil War.

Federal programs initiated under the New Deal—many of which were supported by young Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia—helped pull the nation, and particularly the South, out of the depression. A new relationship was established between the federal and state governments, and a new responsibility for protecting the economic welfare of the people was bequeathed to the federal government.

But Richard Russell had a clear and balanced view of the government's responsibility and its proper role. He maintained that. He did not change. At his death, he maintained essentially the same philosophy of government he held at 34.

Senator Russell adhered to the sound proposition that the federal government must act in certain domestic situations—as during the Great Depression—and that its auspices are, and have been of obvious economic benefit to Georgia and other states. But he also believed that the federal government is obligated to practice restraint, and not to cry "wolf" simply as an excuse to create another federal agency, or assume another task that can be performed by the state or local governments.

Richard Russell was a friend of young and old alike. He was really the "father" of the school lunch program. He supported legislation throughout his long service in the Senate to improve the lot of the elderly and the sick.

He was a friend of the military, having served as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where it is said that he presided over 1.1 trillion in appropriations for the military. He was a powerful voice for Fort Benning and other military installations in Georgia and the South. He was one of the strong advocates of the giant, years-long Chattahoochee-Flint-Apalachicola Rivers development project, and fought for appropriations to see this mammoth program completed.

The vast power that Senator Russell held didn't show itself in the form of headlines (although whenever he chose to make a public statement, he did indeed make headlines), rather it was a quiet sort of power emanating from his personal brilliance, his legislative expertise and impeccable integrity. Word is that even the most influential in that august body yielded to the by-words: "Clear it with Dick Russell."

Great figures in history are not always those who hold the ultimate positions of power, such as President or king. Life in the United States as we know it today, as generations in the future will know it, was shaped to a large degree by this distinguished American and Georgian.

The name of Richard B. Russell is already secure in American history. Although it was widely believed that Russell would have become President had he been born in any state outside the South, he had long since transcended his sectional bonds and political party to become, truly, a national leader.

Presidents since Franklin D. Roosevelt have sought his friendship, respected him, honored him. Early last year, President Richard Nixon acknowledged the national quality of Russell's statesmanship with a tribute to his "magnificent ability for leadership." The President's praise came at a special dinner in Washington honoring the Georgia senator.

It should be a source of pride for all of us that this giant of American government, of American life, of American politics, was a fellow Georgian. His name will be enshrined as one of the great and courageous statesmen of our time.

[From the Covington (Ga.) News, Jan. 28, 1971]

Georgia's Son Comes Home

The nation shares Georgia's loss and grief in the passing of Senator Richard Brevard Russell. The esteem in which he was held by state and national leaders was evidenced by the homage paid him in life, as well as in his last rites, when he came home to sleep in the red clay soil of his beloved native state.

He served his state with distinction as its youngest Speaker of the House, and its youngest Governor, in which role he backed his campaign pledge of government economy, by cutting his own salary by some $4,000 per annum. Establishment of the Board of Regents and University System of Georgia, and the many National Defense Industries brought to Georgia, were but a few of the outstanding services he rendered his native Georgia.

Entering the U.S. Senate in 1933, his brilliant intellect, integrity, astute judgment and able leadership became a tradition. He sponsored legislation for Rural Electrification, Soil Conservation, Farmers Home Administration, and the School Lunch Program, which was the accomplishment in which he took greatest pride. No other member of the Senate shouldered graver responsibilities and broader interests than Georgia's Senior Senator, who had through 38 years rendered invaluable service in state, national and international affairs. His keen perception and sound logic had been guidelines in policies of America's economy, national security and nuclear and space development. Until his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he served as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; and, was at the time of his death president pro tem of the Senate, as well as chairman of several top ranking committees.

He was a patriot, in its truest sense, dedicated to the principles of Constitutional Government; and termed himself a Jeffersonian Democrat. As such, loyalty to his party never stood in the way of loyalty to his country; and, he did not hesitate to support a measure he deemed in the best interest of the nation.

He was often called, "A Senator's Senator", having won the respect and admiration of his colleagues, who voted him the most powerful man in the Senate, as did the Washington Press Corps. President Nixon, in his eulogy of the Senator, went a step further to describe him as "A President's Senator"; stating that he had served as

confidante and advisor to six Presidents of the United States, including himself. On his last visit to Senator Russell at Walter Reed Hospital, the Senator's deepest concern was that America's defenses be kept strong. His oft stated theory was, "Only a free nation can become strong; and, only a strong nation can remain free". The Senator's last words to the President were, "I only wish I could be down there to help."

In all of his roles as Patriot, Statesman, and Presidential Confidante, Senator Russell aquitted himself with dignity enhanced by humility. He cherished his heritage of Christian parents and family, and his country, "Of the People, By the People, and For the People".

As he sleeps in the soil from which he came, may we honor his memory by recognizing these verities of life as legacies, to be passed on to those who come after us.

[From the Dade County (Ga.) Sentinel, Jan. 28, 1971]

Senator Richard B. Russell

Back in 1930, a young man we knew as "Dick" Russell, came to Dade County. He was a candidate for Governor of Georgia and arrived in Trenton on the night when hundreds throughout the county and area had gathered at the now elementary school building for the annual old time fiddlers convention.

After having been presented by the late Walter W. Cureton of Rising Fawn, Mr. Russell spoke very briefly—less than five minutes—we were there and well remember. He was elected Governor, the youngest Chief Executive ever chosen by his state—33.

However, the young man began his political career at the age of 22, when he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1920. He served 10 years as a member of that Body; the last four years were spent as House Speaker. Mr. Russell was the only man in the history of our country to serve more than half of his life in the United States Senate. We are very proud to have known him well.

At 2 p.m. Sunday, final rites for Senator Richard Brevard Russell were held at the Russell Memorial Park, Winder, Ga., his home town. He was born there November 2, 1897, and was the fourth of fifteen children. He didn't choose a mate.

We would not attempt to elaborate upon the life of Senator Russell, but will simply say, he was a great man. He wasn't a "chronic" speaker in the United States Senate, but when he spoke, the members listened, his home state listened, the nation and the world listened. He spoke only when he had something to say. He was a power—great power, and surely Senator Richard B. Russell's life will fill many pages of history as among the most illustrious statesmen not only in Georgia but the United States. Our deepest sympathy is extended to the bereaved.

[From the Dallas (Ga.) New Era, Jan. 28, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell

The headlines read, "Senator Russell Is Dead." They should have read, "President Russell is dead." No man in history was more deserving of that office, or better qualified for it, than Richard Russell. Harry Truman said that if Russell had been born anywhere but in the South, he would have been President. The same statement has been made by many men in high places. While Senator Russell's services in the Senate rivaled those of any other member of that body, past or present and in all probability any member in the future, this sectional prejudice deprived the nation of his services in the higher capacity of President. It is universal knowledge that sectional prejudice is a fact of life in the nation—a prejudice that elevates a man from Minnesota to the Supreme Court without opposition, while denying that post to a man from South Carolina or Florida, not because they were any less qualified, less capable, less honorable, less worthy, but purely and simply because they were born on the wrong side of the tracks. Not having been permitted to serve in the highest capacity, Senator Russell gave himself wholly to his country's service in the lesser capacity as Senator, and in that office made a record unique and unassailable.

It has sometimes been said of the Senator that he was opposed to civil rights. That charge is a calumny. He was NOT opposed to civil rights. What he was opposed to was civil WRONGS, taking away the rights of some in order to give certain purported rights to others and to legislative discrimination against the South, as exemplified in punitive laws which specifically apply to certain Southern states but specifically exempt the rest of the country. He could not go along with a legislative program which was so deeply concerned about discrimination, yet passed laws which themselves were highly discriminative. That's what he was opposed to. Not civil rights, nor any legitimate right.

Men in high places have eulogized the Senator. President Nixon paid him high tribute in his speech to the nation last Friday night, and in a speech at the Georgia state capitol on Saturday afternoon. The entire Senate stood reverently by as his remains passed the national capitol on Friday afternoon, and more than half of them came South to attend his funeral, though obliged to pay their respects from Charleston because their planes could not land in Atlanta due to bad weather. His body lay in state at the Georgia Capitol, where it was viewed by thousands of sorrowing Georgians, and later at the Senator's home in Winder, there to be viewed by other thousands. On Sunday afternoon the funeral services were held at Winder and from Charleston, via television, in which the Senator was eulogized by the highest officials of the nation and of the state.

Not many men have ever been in public life for fifty years, as was Senator Russell. Beginning when a young man of twenty-three as a member of the state legislature, he went on from there to be Governor, holding that office in 1931 and 1932, and entering the United States Senate in 1933, where he was to make a record unique in the annals of government.

It would require a great deal of space to detail his work in the Senate. In his early years in that body he was developing the skill and knowledge which served him so well later. For a good many years he was head of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, and it is perhaps in that role that he attained his greatest renown. Always alert to the defense needs of his country,

he saw to it that the military forces were kept in a state of readiness and power to compel the respect of the world and thus insure the safety of the Nation. He has been described by President Nixon as a President's Senator, one upon whom a President could call in an emergency. In just such emergencies Senator Russell was called upon to serve on the committee investigating Pearl Harbor; on the investigation of the removal of General MacArthur from the command in Korea, and on the Warren commission investigating the assassination of President Kennedy. These are just a few of the highlights of his career. His last assignment was as head of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, which is perhaps the most important, and certainly one of the most powerful, of the committees of the Senate.

Senator Russell's last official act was a vote, by proxy, for Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, for the office of Democratic whip of the Senate, thereby defeating the former holder of that position. Thus, exercising his powers to the very last, it may appropriately be said that he died with his boots on. He served thirty-eight years in the Senate. Whoever succeeds him, as well as whoever else serves with his successor, will need more than thirty-eight years to equal or even approach the extent of his public service or to attain his unique status as a patriot and statesman.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Jan. 23, 1971]

Richard Russell, Senator

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga.," is dead.

That brief description is all that the dean of the Senate listed in his biography in the Congressional Directory. There can be no doubt that his colleagues, his country and history will have much more to say about the man and his contributions.

Sen. Richard Russell was one of the last of the old breed of brilliant lawmakers who have made the U.S. Senate the world's greatest deliberative body. He has been praised by political friends and foes alike for his integrity, his dedication and parliamentary genius.

Today he is being eulogized as "a giant among giants," "a senator's senator." President Nixon said, on being informed of Sen. Russell's death, that "America mourns the passing of one of her greatest sons."

Praises and eulogies fade away with time, but the contributions of Sen. Richard Russell will endure, for he was more than a leader, he set an example of senatorial judgment and legislative skill that is worked into the fabric of the U.S. Senate.

Russell was a proud Southerner, dean of Southern conservatives and one of the long line of magnificent veterans of congressional service from that region. But he was first an American. He entered the Senate in 1933 and during his long career in the upper house served his country, his convictions and his constituents with such unswerving devotion that he earned the highest respect of those who served with him. His help and advice were important in the governmental training of many national leaders, particularly Lyndon B. Johnson, who has often acknowledged Sen. Russell's generosity of spirit and dedication to duty.

Richard Russell was a man of sincere conviction and independent thought, but he was also a man who understood and practiced the vital function of cooperation and compromise in making democratic government work.

The loss of such a senator would be grievous at any time. In an era that too often hears ultimatums and nonnegotiable demands, the passing of this man of reason is doubly tragic.

[From the Dalton (Ga.) Daily Citizen-News, Jan. 23, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell Was a Dedicated Statesman

Richard Brevard Russell gave it all he had.

As a member of the United States Senate for 38 years the 73-year-old Georgian was perhaps the most esteemed man in the upper chamber of Capitol Hill.

During his nearly four decades of service to the nation and its people he served on and headed many powerful committees.

The Presidents who served during the same years of Dick Russell's tenure often leaned upon him, confided in him and learned from his many years of experience.

Sen. Richard B. Russell was a man dedicated to serving his country and his people. He was trustworthy and dependable.

So highly regarded was Sen. Russell that former President Harry S. Truman said he probably could be elected President of the United States had he not been a Southerner. In that statement we concur, and can only reiterate that it's an unfortunate condition in our country when a man well qualified cannot be elected to this nation's top office because of the geographical location of his home.

Sen. Russell's death Thursday afternoon did not come unexpectedly. He had been in declining health, and for the past several days in critical condition. The doctors realized he was nearing the end of his life.

Winder, his native Georgia hometown, may always point with pride that he came from that community.

Not only has Georgia lost a fine man and a gentleman, but the nation has lost a respected and able statesman.

[From the Dawson (Ga.) News, Feb. 4, 1971]

Russell Fought His Idea of Vilification of Southern Life

(By Edward H. Sims)

The recent death of Richard Russell of Georgia, dean of the Senate, should not pass without a commentary on his effort in the Senate for so many years—to defend the South and its way of life, a South which he believed too often vilified by a prejudiced nation. He once said: "The feeling against the South has become a national disgrace."

What the Senator meant was not that racial conditions in the South were perfect, but that they were as good as in other sections of the country and that the South was being used by politicians of all sections as a whipping

boy, for votes, while much of the same way of life was hypocritically carried on outside the South.

That vilification might have been justified in a way by various events, but not more so than for other sections, which received no such political abuse. The Senator also resented that no Senator or statesman from the South had a chance to be President. As he saw it, prejudice against the South was the main reason—prejudice on the racial issue, much of which he found hypocritical.

He believed the two major races got on well in the South, generally speaking, and that there was more genuine friendship and love between them in the South than anywhere else in the nation, that the two races had learned to live together.

He acknowledged that change was due, that every American is due the same opportunity, education and rights of every other. But he fought all his life against measures aimed only at the South, and those which he considered unconstitutional, some of which he considered political pitches for votes. But when a law was passed he asked all to obey it.

If indeed Senator Russell was not completely right in his assessment, it must nevertheless be said that all of the Senate's recent members, including Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy, and Mike Mansfield, etc., acknowledged that he was better informed on the major issues of the day, and on the rules of the Senate, than any other man. They conceded he would have been President had he come from a state outside the South. All described him as a giant among giants in the Senate.

This being true, it's impossible to dismiss his defense of the South and its way of life as having no merit and no truth.

Far from being a reactionary, Russell was liberal in many fields. He said once he was a liberal in bad times and a conservative in good years and his voting record substantiated that statement.

This writer years ago visited Russell's office almost daily, as a young Washington correspondent. While he was far more important in the Senate than some of the other Senators on the daily call list, he would almost invariably make himself available for questioning if in. Others were often hard to corner, and if cornered would avoid answers to delicate questions. But Russell was a simple and open man, as his modest biography showed, which only mentioned that he was Democrat from Winder, Georgia.

[From the Decatur-DeKalb (Ga.) News, Jan. 27, 1971]

THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE AISLE . . .

(By Jim Westlake)

Overshadowing the entire week was the death of Senator Russell. An attitude of quiet respect was very much in evidence for Senator Russell was viewed as a man for All Georgians. Rich or poor, Democrat or Republican, all races and creeds, had a feeling of friendship for the Senator. The Legislators formed an Honor Guard Watch throughout the time the body reposed in the State Capitol. The Georgia Republican Party sent a large floral American Flag to rest beside the casket. And of course, the presence of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew marked the esteem held for this Great Georgian by the Administration, despite reports that the liberals of the Washington scene used labels of "racist" and "bigot" in speaking of Senator Russell.

The term used most frequently about Senator Russell by those eulogizing him was "patriot". It is a good description of the man and it is good that Georgia, one of the original thirteen states, had a "patriot" for a Senator over the past generation of time. A patriot loves his country, puts duty and honor ahead of personal considerations and seeks always to strengthen the foundation of his nation. Senator Russell was indeed such a man.

[From the De Kalb County (Ga.) New Era, Jan. 28, 1971]

THE PASSING SCENE

(By Joseph H. Baird)

It was a symbol of the late Senator Richard B. Russell's modesty that he had the shortest biography in the Congressional Directory, the thick blue-bound official U.S. government guide that is published shortly after the convening of each Congress.

The biographical sketches in this book are written by the Senators and Representatives themselves, and some are fulsome indeed, listing details of the great man's birth, family, education, political victories, fraternities, lodges and service clubs.

In sharp contrast, the sketch written by Senator Russell was stark in its simplicity. It says "Richard Brevard Russell, Winder, Georgia." That is all.

Some people, including newspapermen, used to complain to the Senator that readers needed and wanted more details about him. But he would never enlarge the sketch.

Simple also is the white, two-story house in Winder where the Senator lived most of his life except when he was in Washington or Atlanta. Despite long-time increases in both his power and wealth, he held to the end to a starkly simple mode of life, comfortable, but not pretentious or ornate.

This simplicity, this innate modesty, was the root of his power. Because he was not grasping or engaged in an overweening search for power, people trusted him. And this included his colleagues in the Senate who elevated him to the highest elective office in that body—president pro tempore.

I was a newspaper correspondent in Washington when Senator Russell arrived in March, 1933 to take his seat in the same Congress that was elected by the people in November, 1932, along with Franklin D. Roosevelt as president. There had occurred in that year of the Great Depression what amounted to a social and political revolution. Millions of Americans, unemployed and hopeless, turned down the conservative Republican policies of Herbert Hoover and placed their trust for the future in what became known as the New Deal.

In later years, as Senator Russell grew more and more conservative in his thinking and policies, it was hard to remember that he had once been a New Dealer. But he was, and in his early years he gave FDR staunch support.

I don't remember now exactly when Senator Russell began to move toward the right. But it may well have been in the elections of 1936 when Roosevelt attempted, futilely, to "purge" four Senators then up for reelection who had fought his plan to enlarge the U.S. Supreme Court so that he could hand-pick a court that would support New Deal policies. Among these men was Russell's senior colleague, Senator Walter F. George of Georgia. Although Georgians voted to give FDR a second term, they refused to accept the President's recommendation to "purge" Senator George and reelected him by a large majority.

It was typical of Senator Russell that he didn't allow political differences to interfere with personal friendships. A case in point was President Lyndon B. Johnson. When Johnson was a Texas senator he and Russell were close friends and the two Johnson girls, Lynda and Luci, always called Russell "Uncle Dick".

After Johnson became vice-president under the late President John F. Kennedy and then President on the latter's death, the political gulf between the two men widened over the Civil Rights issue. As readers will recall, Senator Russell led the vigorous Senate fight against the Civil Rights act of 1964. But this did not destroy the personal friendship between the two men. I recall that when Johnson was in Atlanta in 1964 campaigning for his first elective term in the White House, Lynda Bird still referred affectionately to "Uncle Dick" Russell.

Few Southerners in American history have ever exercised as much power in Washington as the modest Georgian who was buried in Winder last Sunday. As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee for many years, Senator Russell helped form and put into effect the military policies of the United States. Some observers, including this one, felt at times that Senator Russell was too lavish in approving expenditures by the military. But I never doubted that he was doing what he considered right.

When he moved two years ago to the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, he headed, next to Foreign Relations, the most powerful group in the Senate. To this colleagues added the accolade of making him president pro tem of the Senate.

When President Richard M. Nixon flew to Atlanta Saturday afternoon to pay tribute to the Senator's memory, he added a tribute which is without a parallel in my knowledge of recent American history.

Georgians will long take pride in having contributed a son like Richard B. Russell to the nation's service.

[From the De Kalb County (Ga.) New Era, Jan. 28, 1971]

A Tribute

(The following editorial was written by Murphey Candler, editor emeritus of The De Kalb New Era and a close personal friend of the late Sen. Richard B. Russell.)

In the soil of Georgia many who have brought glory and renown to our State now sleep in death. But as great as were their services, none have surpassed the services and luster given our Nation, our State and our people by our senior Senator Richard B. Russell.

More than half his life was spent in the Senate of the United States. To that, add the years spent in the General Assembly of Georgia and in the office of Governor, and the total is unequalled in Georgia history. So many years of devoted service to his State, his Nation and the world casts him in a role seldom attained by a public figure. His was almost an entire life of service generated by a tireless effort, a keen intellect and a love of State and Country.

But this life of service, even with its cumulated longevity, was not his sole attribute. There was another ingredient in his make-up which elevated him from simply a good servant of the public and placed him at the pinnacle of public service. It was the ingredient that leavened his life and rendered his service fuller, more complete and fruitful. That ingredient was the man's character.

We have known personally the Senator from 1915 until his death and have witnessed his career with interest and affection. In his dealings with his constituents, his friends, his enemies, his political associates his diplomatic contacts and with the ruling powers of the world, to our recollection, though there have been bitter controversies in which he was inextricably involved, not one word was ever uttered against his fairness, his honesty, his truthfulness or his character. For a public figure of his stature, this is indeed remarkable. But as remarkable as it is, it is true.

This service augmented by this character over more than half a century brought to him the devotion and loyalty of his friends and the complete respect of his enemies. Greatness was the inevitable result. He was a Georgian of the highest caliber—yes—but he was an American patriot of great renown. This man is now dead. Such a one has passed from the theatre of life and left for others the complexities and problems of the times. To many his death has brought bitter grief, to thousands sadness and to all a sense of loss to the State and to the Nation.

But in his passing, we do not believe that his life is lost. Quite to the contrary, the people of Georgia and of the Nation have for a generation watched a life go by leaving behind a trail of love of country, of real service and a character above reproach. We have witnessed a public servant at his best. But we are confident that the scarlet thread of service and character that ran so vividly across the years of his life is not now cut. We believe that its benefits will run into the far distant future with both an incentive and an inspiration to those of us who have witnessed his life and to millions yet unborn.

We have committed his body to the soil of his native State. We will miss him. But his spirit will hover over us for years to come and the results of his labors will be felt. The loftiness of his life will continue to bring us a more meaningful value of the riches of public life as it can be when devotion to service and the strength of a Christian character are merged.

The mantle of seniority has now fallen upon the shoulders of Senator Herman Talmadge with all of its responsibilities, its burdens, its frustrations and its opportunities. With implicit confidence that he will carry those things with courage, dignity and character, we wish him every success.

The New Era sincerely extends to Senator Russell's loved ones its deepest sympathy in their hours of grief

but wish to convey to them also that the Senator has neither lived nor died in vain.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Jan. 23, 1971]

SYMBOL OF THE SOUTH

To many Americans, Senator Richard Brevard Russell was an unyielding foe of civil rights and an unquestioning supporter of the Pentagon. But the Georgia Democrat once said that one of his proudest accomplishments was helping start the federal school lunch program.

Russell, who died Thursday after 38 years in the Senate, was a symbol of the South—but of a South that is no more. He typified the courtly Southern gentleman, not the wheeler-dealer regional promoter nor the red-neck racist.

He was a co-sponsor of legislation establishing the Tennessee Valley Authority, and he supported measures for rural electrification, farm parity and soil conservation—all programs that promised human betterment as well as economic progress.

When Russell took the lead in fighting civil rights (he said "civil wrongs") legislation during the Truman Administration, he followed the traditional Southern argument of appealing to states' rights rather than resorting to racist emotionalism.

As the longtime chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he was a vigorous supporter of military preparedness. Yet he acknowledged that the war in Vietnam was "one of the greatest tragedies of our history."

Russell had dedicated his life to the South, even when that meant sacrificing his progressive impulses in defense of reactionary obstructionism. At the end, Russell seemed an anachronism, as he adhered to a vanishing political tradition.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Sunday News, Jan. 24, 1971]

A SOUTHERN GIANT OF THE SENATE

The death of Richard Brevard Russell, of Georgia, removes from the U.S. Senate one of its all-time giants, a man who for more than 30 years served as the South's foremost spokesman in the world's greatest deliberative body. But he was more than a Southerner. He was a great patriot and a great American.

He wielded his enormous influence to the last. Just four hours before Russell's death, Senator Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, voted the Georgian's proxy when he upset Senator Edward Kennedy, of Massachusetts, as Democratic whip. Byrd said later he would not have run had Russell not been alive at the time.

A bachelor, Russell was married to politics. He entered his state legislature at 23, became Georgia's youngest governor at 33 and served 38 years in the Senate, eventually becoming the dean of its members. From 1951 to 1969, except for a two-year interruption when the GOP ruled, he was the chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee, stepping down only to become chairman of the equally powerful Appropriations Committee.

Senator Russell consistently advocated a strong military stance, supported U.S. military intervention in Korea and the Dominican Republic and wanted President Kennedy to invade Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis. He strongly backed the development of the ABM.

But he also was known to disagree with the Pentagon on some issues and was an early critic of the Vietnam war. Once the U.S. decision was made to back South Vietnam, however, he pledged his support and it never wavered despite the doves' passionate denunciation of the war.

As a Southerner, Russell led the region's opposition to civil rights measures in the Senate. Ironically, however, that opposition denied him the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1952. At his death, Majority Leader Mansfield said what many others believed when he observed that if Russell had been from another part of the country, he could well have been president.

At a time when the seniority system is under fire, it is worth noting that Russell proved that it sometimes advances the best qualified man to a position of leadership. As a chairman of the Armed Services Committee for many years, he earned the respect and admiration of members of both parties. His handling of the 1951 hearings on Gen. Douglas MacArthur's removal by President Truman was regarded as a model of fairness.

Yet Russell now will be succeeded as both dean of the Senate and Appropriations Committee chairman by Allen Ellender, of Louisiana, a man who lacks Russell's ability, intelligence and integrity and whose advancement only proves the seniority system's inadequacies.

[From the Douglas County (Ga.) Sentinel, Jan. 28, 1971]

THE SENATOR

Sen. Richard B. Russell has returned to the state he loved so well. A grey metal casket bearing the late senator's body was lowered into the red clay at his Winder home Sunday afternoon, signalling the end of an era in statesmanship.

Senator Russell was a politician but more than that, he was a statesman who never forgot his Southern heritage, his nation's interests nor his gentle courteous manner.

Government leaders throughout Georgia, the United States and the world have already paid tribute to the late senator as one of the great men of this century.

But perhaps none of the tributes summarized Senator Russell's life as well as the eulogy delivered by Gov. Jimmy Carter.

"In his life there was no measured failure," Gov. Carter said. "The constant weight of service laid upon him roused his courage, his hope and his own self-denial. Within his life there was no avarice, no greed and no lack of love. He tuned his soul to genuine humility. He upheld right and freedom, faithful obedience of the law and he knew the Word of God."

He will be missed.

[From the Douglas (Ga.) Enterprise, Jan. 28, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

It has been several years since Senator Richard B. Russell visited this community, but many pleasantly recall

when he was the principal speaker for the annual Coffee County Chamber of Commerce dinner held at the Douglas Elementary School lunchroom.

Senator Russell's friends are legion in Coffee County and they join with other Georgians in mourning the passing of this able public servant and distinguished U.S. statesman.

On the one occasion this writer had opportunity for conversation with Richard Nixon, then Vice President of the United States, his remarks centered around Dick Russell. It was at Colorado Springs where Mr. Nixon had come to address a gathering of newspaper editors.

Upon learning that we hailed from Georgia, the Vice President said warmly, "Yes, your state has furnished this nation with one of its greatest leaders—Dick Russell. I, and all of his colleagues, hold him in the highest esteem."

Russell became Georgia's youngest Governor in 1931, after 10 years in the State legislature. it was in the depth of the depression. In many respects, he revolutionized state government during his brief term as Georgia's chief executive. He organized higher education. When it came to the people versus the vested interests, he was for the people every time.

Russell went on to the Senate before his two-year term as Governor was up, and many political observers of that day thought he had made the mistake of his life moving so rapidly. But time proved them wrong, and the young political star continued his ascension into the political firmament, remaining in the Senate of the U.S. for 38 years, until death intervened last week.

It was in Dick Russell, that Georgia almost provided a President of the United States. Harry Truman declared: "If Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may well have been President . . ." a view shared by many of Russell's colleagues, both North and South.

Someone once evaluated the Russell family by pointing out that "they are aristocrats in the real, rather than the Hollywood sense. They are spare of frame and long on profile. They are austere in their habits, living good, upright lives in good, sturdy houses of simple design. There is little foolishness about them. Theirs is the classic aristocracy which puts mind over matter, virtue over money and truth over preferment. They have a feeling for continuity."

This is the stock from whence came Dick Russell.

The Enterprise adds its tribute to many others being spoken and written upon the death of a man whose life was simple, yet eloquent, as it was spent in unselfish public service to a grateful nation.

[From the Dublin (Ga.) Courier-Herald, Jan. 25, 1971]

Losing a Senator and a Friend

The loss of Senator Richard B. Russell to many Georgians will be more than the loss of a Senator; it will be the loss of a friend who had endeared himself to thousands in many ways.

Senator Russell had the faculty whenever he came in contact with you of making you feel that it had only been a day or two ago that he had been with you and that the association with him was a continuous thing.

Even though he stood at the top of the most powerful men in the U.S. Government, he always had time and the desire to talk with people from Georgia. And with the many honors and recognitions that he had heaped on him, he was always humble in his firm resolve to merit the awards and the compliments that came his way.

Our file has many letters that the Senator wrote to us for backing his stands and pledging our support in his efforts in the U.S. Senate. Always he felt deeply the same things that most people in Georgia felt, and he appreciated those who took the time to write him and support his positions.

One letter stands out he wrote in February, 1964, in the midst of his fight against the 1964 Civil Rights bill. After expressing his thanks for an editorial we had written, Senator Russell wrote:

"All the rumors about any proposed compromise on this misbegotten attack on our Constitutional system are without any foundation whatsoever. This bill is so very bad that there is scarcely any room for us to compromise.

"President Johnson knows of course that I will fight him on this bill to the very last ditch and I only regret that the President of the United States is armed with so many more "vote inducers" than any member of the Senate or any number of Senators could possess.

"You may be assured that I shall not barter away the first principle for I would rather prefer to go down fighting. After all, I have to live with myself and, according to my light, a vote in favor of this bill is contrary to my oath to sustain the Constitution."

Again in March, 1964, Senator wrote after a group of newspaper publishers had visited him in Washington:

". . . The odds against our little group here are quite formidable, but we will fight the misnamed civil rights bill with all the vigor at our command. If I am overwhelmed, it will be at the last ditch."

Senator Russell was always aware of the great regard that so many had for him, their confidence in him and their admiration for his service in the Senate and for the Nation. In late 1965 we reprinted an article written by Holmes Alexander, a national columnist, on Senator Russell. After we had published the column, Senator Russell wrote:

". . . This was a most kind and generous article about me and I am especially grateful that you saw fit to reprint it in your fine paper.

"Be assured that I shall do my best to live up to the complimentary things this article says about me and will strive to merit your continued friendship and confidence."

In 1966 when there was a possibility that Senator Russell would have opposition, a group of us in the newspaper business were again in Washington and visited the Senator. To a man we expressed the idea that he would not have serious opposition that year. Later he wrote:

"I am, of course, happy that fine and loyal friends like you have relieved me of serious opposition.

"You will never know how deeply I appreciate your staunch friendship and support, and I shall redouble my efforts to promote the progress and interests of our beloved State."

Perhaps the one that touched us most deeply came late in 1965, one that was personal, and even reading

today gives us a thrill. The Senator wrote, after his last visit to Dublin:

"Dear Champ:

"You have written many kind and generous editorials about me but none have touched me more deeply than the one you wrote about my visit to Dublin last week.

"I shall treasure those kind words just as I treasure the friendship of the man who wrote them. I shall do my best to deserve the sentiments you expressed."

How can a man help having, not only great admiration for a man so humble, but a feeling that one could well call love.

Early in 1967 Senator Russell was given the Great American Selection Committee Award. We expressed our pleasure at his receiving it and cited some of the reasons he deserved it. Later he wrote:

". . . The Great American Selection Committee bestowed on me a great honor by naming me the recipient of their award, but the fact that this event prompted you to write this generous and flattering editorial makes the honor much more meaningful. Yesterday, as I took the oath of office for the seventh time, my heart was filled with gratitude for the people of our beloved State who have granted me the privilege of serving in this exciting period of our history."

In 1969 Senator Russell was again plagued with illness, and we wrote of his difficulties and expressed the hope that doctors would be able to halt what was suspected as cancer. In answer, the Senator wrote:

". . . Thanks to early detection, we have many reasons for optimism and I am fighting with all that I have to lick this problem."

Even in fighting for his life, Senator Russell gave the battle everything he had.

The Senator recovered sufficiently to go back to his tasks in the Senate, but the last letter from him dealt not with affairs of State, but the celebration of his 73rd birthday and the 50th anniversary of his service to the State of Georgia. Reading again the comments we made on November 4th last year in these columns, we are happy that while the Senator was still alive we expressed then what we still feel about the life and service of this great Georgian. We said in these columns:

"Tuesday Georgia's Senior Senator Richard B. Russell celebrated two milestones in his illustrious life: his 73rd birthday and his 50th anniversary as a public servant.

"At 23 Senator Russell was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives, and for ten years he served in the Georgia General Assembly. He was then elected Governor on a promise to reform state government, and then proceeded to bring about the greatest reorganization the government of the State has ever known.

"From the Governor's office he went to the United States Senate, and Georgia has never seriously considered not keeping him there as he has set a record second only to that of Arizona Senator Carl Hayden. The Arizonian served 42 years in the Senate, with Senator Russell completing next January his 38th year.

"Serving the people of the state for fifty consecutive years is a record that few will ever equal; but then few men will ever equal the capabilities of Senator Russell.

"As the people of Winder and Barrow County celebrate the long service and birthday of their most notable citizen, the people of Georgia can look at that long service as a tribute to their own good judgment in keeping Senator Russell in the Senate."

Those words were not, and are not, idle praise, but a genuine expression of how we felt about the Senator. If the words meant anything to the Senator, his letter following shall always be among those things we cherish most. Wrote Senator Russell in this last letter; ill even then:

"Dear Champ:

Your generous editorial of November 4th has been brought to my attention and I am taking this opportunity to express to you my profound gratitude.

"While I have reached the age where I would like to forget the increasing number of years, I always welcome the assurance that I am in your thoughts. It was so wonderful to have friends who remember eventful periods in your life and I appreciate more than I can say the fine friendship we have enjoyed over the years.

"With best wishes, I am Sincerely, Dick Russell."

Now the door is closed on the life of this man who was a great statesman and friend. Though denied the highest office in these United States because, as Harry Truman said, he was born in the South, Senator Russell, more times than not, has stood taller in U.S. statesmanship than the men who occupied the Presidency.

Georgia and the nation have lost a great Senator and statesman, but thousands in Georgia and in the nation have also lost a friend. The void he leaves both in Georgia and the nation's political history will be one that probably will never be filled.

[From the Elberton (Ga.) Star, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell

A great tree has fallen in the forest and only history will adequately appraise Georgia's loss in the death of her senior Senator Richard Brevard Russell. It will surely place him among the very top, if not the top, of the long list of her most distinguished sons.

Few Americans have served their state, nation and all mankind as devotedly and as effectively as he. Even fewer have commanded more respect and more esteem than did Richard Brevard Russell, and rightly so.

He ascended to the United States Senate following illustrious terms in the Legislature and as the youngest governor in Georgia's history. He is the first American ever to have served more than half of his life in the Senate.

During his tenure Senator Russell won the admiration of all his colleagues and at the time of his death was recognized as the ablest, most honored member of that august body. He was a close confidant of both Democratic and Republican presidents and it was generally conceded in all quarters that he, too, would have been elected to the nation's highest office had he not represented a state in the Deep South.

Yes, Georgia, the South, the Nation, even the world, have suffered an irreplaceable loss. A loss so great its impact will not be fully realized for years to come. He was certainly a public servant the likes of which can never be replaced.

[From the Evansville (Ind.) Press, Jan. 24, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

In the Congressonal Directory, which includes the self-written biographies of senators and House members, some have written long and some have written short.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., of North Carolina, for instance, used 63 lines of type to tell about himself.

Others didn't bother at all—and one of these was the dean of the Senate. About him the Directory says only: "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

But Russell, who has just died of emphysema and related complications, was a far more complex and unique man than that.

Although he came of a family of 13 children, Russell lived his life as a confirmed bachelor. Although he often was called the most powerful man in the Senate, he made no show of it. Although his 38 years in Congress testified to his unquestioned popularity in Georgia, he refused to take a major hand in Georgia politics.

When President Roosevelt in 1938 sought his help in defeating the late Sen. Walter F. George, he declined. When a governor wanted to tie up with him because "together we could run Georgia politics for 50 years," he declined.

"I don't want to have anything to do with Georgia politics," he said.

And he generally didn't, save for his own re-election campaigns. He was a Democrat but not, in the usual sense, a party man.

In the beginning, he advised against sending American forces to the conflict in Vietnam. But he refused to join the doves of recent years in demanding instant withdrawal. On the contrary, he urged President Johnson to send more forces to "win the war."

Russell was long the idol (and leader) of anti-civil rights sentiment in the "Old South" and in the 1948 Democratic convention was proposed for the presidential nomination against Harry Truman. He polled 263 votes, practically all from the so-called "Solid South" of the time.

If it had not been for this issue, and the fact that he came from Georgia, he almost surely would have been a serious presidential possibility.

On most issues, with the notable exception of civil rights, he probably was one of the most "nationally minded" men in the Senate. And whether his stand was popular or unpopular, he held to it with ardent tenacity—although always with logic and good manners.

Russell was no ordinary man and no ordinary politician. Right or wrong, he was an exceptional citizen.

[From the Fayette County (Ga.) News, Jan. 28, 1971]

GEORGIA AND GEORGIANS TO MISS INFLUENTIAL HAND OF RUSSELL

Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Winder was a great senator. He served for 38 years and rose to the heights of legislative power. His seniority and simple effectiveness as a leader were renown.

Adviser to presidents, his contributions ranged from rural electrification and school lunch programs, to armed might and strength in the nuclear age and world picture for this country.

Russell's integrity as a political leader, his loyalty to friends, and his simple common sense and dedication to his position, class him as one among many, the kind of man who rises to the heights. This heritage was important to him, and to Georgia. He was afraid of only one thing—of doing the wrong thing in his high position.

For many, the quiet dignity and gentlemanness of this man would allow his greatness to slip by unnoticed. But it was well known in the halls of our national and state government, and not lost on those in positions of responsibility in the nation's capital. The country's single most important and powerful legislative figure has been laid to rest in Winder, Georgia.

The homage paid to Senator Russell was all deserved. The great and neargreat paid their respects. It was a somber hour, and all the honors were earned by a noble son of Georgia.

One of the most significant things about the Russell death, in the meaning of minor things, was his impact upon the vote removing Senator Ted Kennedy from the post of whip in the Democratic caucus, and his stubborn holding to life determined that Governor Jimmy Carter—and not Lester Maddox—would name his successor. Like so many of this wise man's action, these two events may have a profound effect on the future of our state.

So will his passing. We can expect changes in the military installations of Georgia over the next few years. Over a quarter of the armed manpower on duty in our nation are presently stationed in Georgia, so one report goes, and this is directly because of his power on the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee. He was a friend of the military position in this country.

And Lockheed. Senator Russell stood up for Lockheed when things were tough, and they are getting tougher for this giant of a company in our economic picture, mainly because of its dependence on government military contracts to keep moving.

All these are unseen things, respective of the power and influence of Senator Russell and factors we sometimes take for granted, but they nevertheless depict the power and influence of this leader of Georgia who has come home to rest.

There is a tragedy of what might have been in the life of Senator Russell. Had he been born north of the Mason-Dixon line he certainly would have been a president of these United States. This is unfortunate because he stands head and shoulders above those to whom he was forced to bow in preference for the honor. And it was America's loss that she could not utilize his talents in this highest of positions.

There is so much of the American dream in the life of Richard Russell as to re-inspire us: a barefoot boy of Georgia's red clay soil who rose to the heights of his country and never lost his touch with people. A story simple, direct and great in its truth.

And this leaves a big pair of shoes to fill. We in Georgia have been fortunate to have so capable a public servant. And we are going to sorely miss the influential hand of his representation in Washington.

[From the Gainesville (Ga.) Daily Times, Jan. 25, 1971]

A Rainy Sunday at Russell, Ga.

(By Johnny Vardeman)

It was kind of a strange day at Russell, Ga., for that's where the funeral for Sen. Richard B. Russell was held yesterday, just a couple of miles the other side of Winder, 20-something miles from Gainesville.

It was like a funeral in spots, yet it wasn't.

It was reverent at times, though at other times it was almost irreverent. You got the feeling that for the most part this wasn't the kind of fuss the senator would've cared for.

The homeplace is amazing. You've probably passed it a few times without even knowing it. Just a simple-looking frame house like dozens of others you see along the highway. The Seaboard Railroad runs right across U.S. 29 in front of the house.

There were large shade trees in the front yard, now leaveless, a magnolia, and very little grass. Paint peeled on the outside of the house, and the gray was wearing on wooden steps leading to the porch.

A TV platform had been built in front of the house, and elsewhere photographers climbed trees to get shots of the dignitaries going in and out of the house just before the funeral . . . Hubert Humphrey, Dean Rusk, Jimmy Carter, Lester Maddox, Fletcher Thompson, Sam Massell, Carl Vinson. . . .

A path led around the sides of the house, past an old tumble-down barn, a new brick home, then the family cemetery and memorial park. The park and cemetery were well landscaped, with Georgia pines about four or five feet tall spaced out over the field where the main funeral service was held.

Tall pines guarded the cemetery area, and it was a peaceful place, a place where surely the senator spent lots of time relaxing and thinking while he was home from Washington.

What made the day strange was the bone-chilling rain that fell all the time. And the people of all sorts. They came tieless and coatless; not many in overalls, some in blue jeans, some with very long hair, beards, crew cuts, pants suits, black veils, black overcoats and every kind of rain gear and every color of umbrella imaginable.

Some brought their Instamatics and snapped away with the news photographers at General Westmoreland, Melvin Laird, William Rogers, Winton Blount and the others. They were disappointed Agnew, Goldwater, Mansfield and other senators didn't make it.

Sometimes it was silent and still, with only the rain dripping off the trees onto umbrellas mixing with the sounds of walkie-talkies and the commands of National Guard officers. Other times, during the long waiting, an occasional burst of laughter would come from a knot of people near the house.

But at the graveside, except for the whirring of cameras and the jostling of photographers trying to get position, it was solemn and reverent. The color guard painstakingly, slowly and gently took the flag from the casket, folded it even more carefully and presented it to the remaining Russells.

And it was over.

[From the Gainesville (Ga.) Tribune, Jan. 27, 1971]

In Tune With the Times

(By Bryan Springle, Jr.)

As this column is being written, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, statesmen in Georgia history lies in a hospital bed in Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C. Senator Richard B. Russell from nearby Winder has done more for the state of Georgia than anyone in modern times.

During his term in office from 1931–1932 Russell was the man who reorganized the state governmental system. By streamlining the state government, Russell laid the foundation for the government as it stands today. The government needs to be reorganized again, but under the circumstances, it would be foolish to say that he didn't do a good job by reorganizing during his term in office. His program has stood up for almost 40 years and look what has happened to our country during that time.

Russell built up his seniority in the Senate and developed the respect of all the men he was associated with. He would have been the logical choice of the Democrats during the fifties to serve as a Presidential candidate, but his being from the South stopped this in its tracks. Russell might have been the only candidate with a chance to defeat General Eisenhower.

The Senator has been hospitalized since December 8, 1970 and his condition was thought to be improving, but a setback occurred and the family was called to his bedside. Although hospitalized and unable to meet on the Senate floor, Russell made his presence felt through statements that were read into the record. Hindered by bad health for the last few years, Russell has lost none of the respect and power that he has gained through the years. He could get more done from a hospital bed than most could by being there on the spot.

The Senator has served his country well and it will be many years, maybe never, when the state of Georgia and the entire South as well as the country has a voice of reason, such as that of the Senator.

[From the Georgia Farm Bureau News, Feb. 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell: A Name of Strength and Courage

(By Emmett Reynolds)

"And He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth His fruit in His season; His leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever He doeth shall prosper."—Psalms 1:3

The Bible refers many times to the fact that a small child born, grows up and becometh great as an oak tree often utilized as a symbol of strength, endurance and faith.

Civilization is a plant, history with its roots interwoven in the moral fiber of nations, regions and aspirations of a people.

In the march of civilization, an era is a reflection of the impact of moral conviction, principle, courage, wisdom, strength of the people.

In the family plot, surrounded by native pines, hard woods and magnolia, a man's mortal body was laid to rest on January 24, 1971.

If one goes to the family grave plot in the red clay of North Georgia, he will find two inscriptions. One, the inscription of his father, Richard B. Russell, Sr., late chief justice of the State Supreme Court, read, "Son of the Old South, defender and builder of the new." And by its side the inscription for his mother, "She Glorified Motherhood".

The mortal remains had lain inside the rambling white frame house in Barrow County. Relatives and neighbors had maintained watch throughout the night. Neighbors brought food, and a maid of 32 years served coffee. Flowers filled the rooms and overflowed onto the wide back porch.

A family, a county, a state, a region, and a nation had lost a man that, even though sectional, will have history record as one of America's greats. Senator Richard Brevard Russell's contribution to America, and freedom and liberty, and upholder of the greatest documents developed by man is yet to be written in the annals of history books, but is written in the hearts of those of his native land who understood the magnitude of Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

Senator Richard Brevard Russell harbored no malice. Georgia and the South is steeped in a long history and appreciation and liberty for mankind—regardless of race, religion or creed.

Anyone who studies the history of the Colonies, the writing of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Separation of Powers through preservation of Constitutional powers—and the concept of government flowing from the consent of those governed, will realize that.

Senator Richard Brevard Russell was steeped in tradition to be a gentleman, a respector of individual sensitivities, a holder of courage, character, principle, strength, and a man of humility. He had compassion for the individual, and the underprivileged.

He applied himself at a young age. He thus was prepared. His knowledge of essential documents and parliamentary procedure was unexcelled.

He cared when many did not care for basic and important things in America. He had knowledge and courage and skill. He used that power in behalf of all America.

He held the nation together in an hour of peril—from danger from our own selves. Senator Richard Brevard Russell gave America an extension of being of America. He gave us an extension of time—and in the end passes the torch on to those left behind. America today needs that flame to be carried forth on behalf of America.

He ran a good race. He was true, and in truth was a proven "Son of the Old South, defender and builder of the new". He was a tower of strength to America.

Out of respect for Senator Richard Brevard Russell, the President and Vice President of the United States, Cabinet Members, and the Senate came to Georgia to pay their respects to a great American. It seems as though that the eulogies presented at the graveside by a contingent would come from Charleston. That it was appropriate, even if necessitated by the hand of fate. But those voices from Charleston, too, spoke with courage and commitment as well as appreciation for a one fallen in battle.

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Jan. 22, 1971]

Senator Richard B. Russell

The biographical section of the Congressional Directory of the 91st Congress contained just one line for the senior senator from the State of Georgia:

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

That was enough. Everybody of any importance in Washington and throughout the United States knows about Richard Russell.

He had every qualification to be President of the United States, and would have been but for the sectional bias which has denied this country the services of several qualified Southerners in the presidency.

Richard Russell perhaps was not well known to rank and file Americans in other parts of the country. He was not the flamboyant headline-catcher. He was not "charismatic" like many so-called leaders of recent years. He was the retiring type and often shunned the spotlight.

Dick Russell was, however, more than a popular leader. He was a leader of the leaders.

In the Senate, where he became president pro tempore and chairman of important committees, Senator Russell's influence and real power was unsurpassed. More often than not the surface leaders of the Senate were relying and acting upon his advice and council in public appearances and utterances.

In addition he was a trusted adviser to every President of the United States since the early 1930's. All of them, Democrat and Republican, trusted him implicitly and often called him in for quiet consultations.

Dick Russell, who never married, dedicated himself totally to the service of the State of Georgia and the United States of America. His fine intellect and unquestioned integrity were devoted without reservation to the cause of good government and service to the people of this nation.

So there is no need for a formal biography of Richard Russell. It is written in every important piece of legislation and every major governmental decision, in peace and war over the past few decades.

Nothing happened in the Senate without the knowledge and participation of Dick Russell. Even as he lay dying yesterday, the fact that he still breathed was the determining factor that caused the conservative Senator Byrd of West Virginia to go ahead and run against Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts as assistant leader of the Senate majority. Senator Russell's proxy for Senator Byrd was his final act and was the key vote in the surprising defeat of the Kennedy scion.

There is deep mourning in Georgia for a beloved senator. South Carolina and the entire South shares the bereavement of our sister state, because Senator Russell represented the highest ideals of the Southland. The whole country has cause to mourn because a strong, wise, totally dedicated leader has fallen.

He was one of the last of the Senate giants, a towering figure who cannot be replaced.

[From the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 25, 1971]

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

(By Quimby Melton, Jr.)

Senator Russell began his distinguished career of public service in 1920 when elected to the Georgia House of Representatives at the age of 22. He served as a member of the body for 10 years, the last four of which (1927–31) he was Speaker. The people of Georgia elected him Governor in 1930, when he was only 33 years old, and he was the youngest Chief Executive in our state's history. Russell won election to the U.S. Senate after the death of Senator Harris and took his seat in the U.S. Capitol on January 12, 1933. He then served over half his life in the Senate, until his death last week.

I was impressed particularly with the manner in which the Georgia House, in which he began his career, paid tribute to him. Friday morning Speaker Smith slammed the gavel for order, and stillness swept the great chamber. He called for a few moments of silence, and all of us stood with bowed heads. After that, the Clerk read a resolution about the Senator, and most of the members of the House signed it. Speeches by two new members of the House, the Senator's youngest brother, and his nephew, followed. Both are serving as legislators for the first time.

Dr. Alex Russell is the Senator's youngest brother. He is a physician from Winder, Georgia, and he and I have renewed a personal friendship which began 36 years ago in the mountains of Rabun County, Georgia. Dr. Russell said that his father was 60 years old when he was born, that the Senator was the oldest and he the youngest of eight children. So, in addition to their relationship as brothers, there was some of the father-son relationship. He told of Senator Russell's devotion to duty, to the people of Georgia, and to the nation. He spoke quietly and obviously from a full heart. Of course, as a physician, he must have been aware even more than the rest of us that the great Georgian had been dying for months.

Next, the Senator's nephew, Representative Walter Russell, came to the well of the House. He walked slowly because he wears a brace on his leg. Walter Russell spoke quietly, too, and also obviously from his heart. This severely wounded veteran of Vietnam said that his uncle had insisted that everyone in the Russell family do things on their own, achieve on their own. This they have done. He said that here in the South we still have pride in family, and that of the three people whose bodies have lain in state in the great rotunda of Georgia's Capitol, one was his (Walter's) grandfather, and one his uncle. The grandfather was Senator Russell's father, Richard Brevard Russell, Sr., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia when he died in 1938. (The third person to lie in state was the late Governor Eugene Talmadge, father of our present neighbor whose home is near Lovejoy, Senator Herman Talmadge.)

I was tremendously impressed by what these two members of the Senator's family said there in the Georgia House where Dick Russell began his career as a young man of 22, and where so many momentous events have occurred.

Speaker Smith invited members of the House to stand at the open coffin as a guard of honor along with the military guard. My turn was Friday night, and I stood there not as an individual—though I'd have been honored to do that—but as the Representative of the people of Fayette and Spalding Counties. Thousands of people passed silently by, and the line stretched from the Capitol entrance to the sidewalk, then for two blocks or more around the square with several people abreast. Thousands of people had come to pay their last respects to the most powerful man Georgia has produced since the Civil War.

By chance I was assigned a place in the northeast corner of the rotunda, and was reminded of Walter Russell's remarks about family pride because I stood facing a lifesize portrait of my mother's grandfather who served as Speaker of the United States Congress during the administration of Grover Cleveland. He was Charles F. Crisp, and his son, Charles R. Crisp served in Congress for 20 years, ran for the United States Senate and lost to the man who lay in the casket before me, Dick Russell.

Richard B. Russell received every honor and accolade which a public servant can enjoy, all of them deserved. The greatest, to me, was a letter to him from my Grandmother about the time of World War II when he was doing so much for the military defense of our nation. He had defeated her brother, but she acknowledged and thanked him for his tremendous service to the nation and declared him to be a great Senator.

[From the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 25, 1971]

GOOD EVENING

(By Quimby Melton)

Weekend Notes:

Never before in the history of our nation has a native-born Georgian been the spotlight center of the news as was Georgia's Senator Richard (Dick) Russell last week. The senior Senator died at Walter Reed Hospital at the age of 73, after a long fight for his life. Immediately plans were being made to have him honored with a Washington funeral, with all the honors usually given an official of his influence, but members of his family said Dick Russell would prefer to "return home to Georgia" and have his funeral there.

His body was brought to Georgia and lay in state in the rotunda of the State Capitol. Thousands of Georgians passed by the open casket paying tribute to the man who has often been said to have "loved Georgia best of all."

Those who paid tribute to Senator Russell included President and Mrs. Nixon, Governor and Mrs. Jimmy Carter, Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox and other state officials. But it was the "little man" who seemed to outnumber all others.

The final chapter of the funeral shifted to Russell's home at Winder, where all the pomp of protocol was employed to pay honor to the man who for more than half a century has been a dominating figure in Georgia politics. But in spite of this, once again it seemed, the "little man" outnumbered others and their tribute to Dick Russell outweighed that of the elite and the favored.

The original plans for the funeral could not be followed in detail, heavy rains and fog kept a delegation from Washington, headed by Vice-President Agnew, from landing in Atlanta and they had to carry on their part of the funeral ceremonies by TV from Charleston. The communications system of the nation responded quickly and viewers of the funeral were able to see what was going on, both in Charleston and in Winder, as though they were on the front row of seats reserved for special guests.

Senator Dick Russell was one of few Georgians ever honored by having his remains laying in state in the rotunda of State Capitol and he is one of very few who ever preferred to have his funeral services conducted at home when he could have been the center of a state funeral in Washington. He was a remarkable man who rose from a youthful member of the Georgia House of Representatives to a man whom the nation saw fit to honor as a leader; going the route of Speaker of the House, Governor and then U.S. Senator.

The influence of Dick Russell will long be felt.

Rest his soul in peace.

[From the Gwinnett County (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 22, 1971]

GEORGIA, NATION, WORLD LOSE A GREAT STATESMAN

A great Georgian is dead.

More than that, a great American. Yea, even a great citizen of the world.

Richard Brevard Russell, United States senator, began as a southern agrarian. He grew to think in terms of what was best, not only for Georgia, and the South, but for the nation, and the world.

When he was at the height of his power, the words spoken by Richard Russell in the small town of Winder reverberated in the Kremlin.

For example, when the Buddist monks were immolating themselves in the streets of Saigon and the regime of President Diem was crumbling, Sen. Russell said, "If they can't keep their own house in order, maybe we ought to just pull out."

World opinion was affected because Sen. Russell had said it.

After the veteran senator began his bouts with the series of illnesses that eventually took his life, someone remarked, "Even on a stretcher, Sen. Russell is more powerful than anyone else in the Senate."

In a very real sense, he was virtually as powerful as the President.

It is one of the ironies of American history that a man with Sen. Russell's qualifications and experience in government could not be president of the United States.

Columnist Williams S. White developed this thought in a eulogy of the great senator, quoted by Hal Suit in his memorable television documentary on the life of Sen. Russell.

Sen. Russell, White wrote, "is the highest embodiment of a southern tradition of aristocratic and large-minded public service. He has acted for his nation with a gallantry and a generosity that the nation has repaid with petty discrimination against him and all his kind.

"Granting, if one wishes, a thousand sins by a South long dead and gone, how long should this nation go on punishing southern men of talent for what went on, or is supposed to have gone on, in its long, long yesterday?

"How many times must Fort Sumter be avenged and re-avenged? How many times must northern liberals, on their awareness of their inferiority to such Richard Russells as still survive, reassure themselves by seeing to it that every Richard Russell is kept firmly in his place?

"How long can a nation afford all that?

"It used to be said, and truthfully, that it was the South which would not allow the Civil War to be forgotten. But is it not now, and has it not long since been, the other way around?

"When the South says farewell to Richard Brevard Russell, something much more than the South will have been deprived. So, too, will have been the United States."

To this Suit added his own commentary. "Probably Bill White is a little too passionate. Perhaps it is enough to say that when Edward Kennedy was elected Senator, he asked his brother to advise him on being a good senator.

"John F. Kennedy told him, go and talk to Senator Russell."

Sen. Russell was never bitter that the accident of his birth prevented him from being elected president of the United States. He told Suit, in one of the many interviews the two recorded for television, he recognized this unwritten law of American politics, but was not "a man to be bitter."

This spirit bespoke a greatness that few men achieve.

Regardless now of whom Gov. Carter appoints to fill the unexpired term of Sen. Russell, Georgia has been hurt, not only by the loss of the man but by the loss of seniority that his passing means.

Richard Brevard Russell served in the Senate for 37 years, and for 23 of those years he was junior to Sen. Walter F. George.

Now, with all due respects to Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, Georgia will not soon again enjoy the power and prestige in the nation's highest legislative body that it has in the decades past.

The death of Sen. Russell is indeed a great loss. "How have the mighty fallen!"

[From the Houston County (Ga.) Home Journal Jan. 28, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Bobby Branch)

I never met Senator Richard Russell but once. It was at a convention of the Georgia Press Association back in the summer of 1965 at Jekyll Island.

He was still spry then. I remember him making a thundering speech to the editors and reporters, then bouncing among the group talking and joking with those many he knew and didn't know. He was politician . . no doubt about it. But he was first a great statesman . . . I'm glad I had the opportunity to meet and shake his hand. I'll probably never shake another hand or meet another man just like Richard B. Russell.

[From the Jackson County (Ga.) Herald, Jan. 28, 1971]

HE WILL BE MISSED

A beloved neighbor is gone.

Jackson and Banks Countians were proud to claim Sen. Richard Russell as a neighbor. As a matter of fact, he was born in what was at the time Jackson County.

We were proud not simply because he was a senator, but because he served so admirably in that office.

He not only had the respect of Georgians, who elected him governor and then sent him to Washington time and again, but he also had the highest respect of national and world leaders, including five presidents.

President Nixon, in Atlanta Saturday to pay tribute to the senator, said that had he been born 10 years later he probably would have become president.

But perhaps he served his nation better as he did—as an advisor to presidents, especially on matters of national security, and as a man known for his integrity, his love of country and his dedication.

Senator Russell will be missed not only by his friends along the Potomac but also by his many friends in the environs of the Mulberry and the Oconee.

[From the Jackson (Ga.) Progress-Argus, Jan. 28, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL (1897–1971)

(By Doyle Jones, Jr.)

The mortal remains of Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, were laid to rest in the Russell family cemetery in Winder, the town of his birth 73 years ago, on Sunday afternoon. At his request he was buried beside the grave of his beloved mother, Mrs. Ina Dillard Russell, who died in 1953. The red clay soil of Barrow County enfolded Georgia's greatest senator and one of this centuries greatest Americans. He is at home and his soul at rest.

It is given to few men to enjoy the power, the prestige and the influence that marked Dick Russell's 38 years in the Senate. He was recognized and acknowledged as the leader of this august deliberative body, the peer of his colleagues, the epitome of a "senator's senator." He was a statesman and parliamentarian par excellence. He was a loyal friend, a courteous opponent. Dick Russell was confidant and friend of five presidents, his counsel widely sought and generally accepted.

Humility was one of his great virtues. Chivalry was instinctive with Dick Russell. The power that corrupts so many politicians and the conceit that makes them so distasteful was strangely absent from the makeup of this remarkable man. He retained his love and his touch for the common man and was admired and respected by them for this great trait.

I first met Dick Russell when he was campaigning for governor. I was a callow teen-ager but this first encounter with this great Georgian remains in my mind over the years. My father was seated at his desk at the front of the office and recognized Mr. Russell when he came in. Dad had long been a friend of Dick's father and had, I'm sure, pledged him to support his son. Dad introduced me to our future governor and senator and I was impressed by his friendliness and sincerity. He and Dad talked for about 20 minutes or so and thus was born a friendship that endured until my father's death in 1955. One of my most cherished possessions is a letter from Dick Russell written soon after he learned of his death.

Sunday in Winder was a day to be remembered and it will be recalled and cherished by thousands who endured the inclement weather to pay homage to one who had done so very much for his fellow Georgians. We drove over via Covington, Social Circle, and Monroe, arriving about 10:30 at the Russell homeplace after parking in the Rohr Corporation lot and being transported to and from the home site via National Guard buses. The military was much in evidence and they and the Georgia State patrolmen did an excellent job in directing traffic, directing the pedestrian flow in and about the Russell home, and myriad other jobs. After waiting a short time in line, we stepped up on the front porch where there were three stands for guest registration. After signing one we went into the front door where Sen. Russell's body lay in his opened bronze casket to our left in the family sitting room. Visitors were then ushered from the house via the back porch and exited to the right around the house to board the buses back to the parking site. One had to be amazed at the efficiency and dispatch with which the MP's carried out this assignment.

Upon returning to the car Martha and I partook of a light lunch and were back at the Russell home shortly after 12 o'clock. I used a press card to gain entrance to the press section at the rear of the home where people were standing under upraised umbrellas in the shivering cold rain that left feet wet in minutes. The heavy mist and rain continued to fall during the afternoon. Chief topic of conversation was whether the Washington dignitaries would be able to land in Atlanta or Marietta. Weather prohibited with Charleston being the nearest open airport. When this happened feverish last minute preparations were made by officials to bring a televised and audio appearance via a quickly rigged hookup from a Charleston TV station. This amazing feat was accomplished in about an hour's time which delayed the funeral services for 45 minutes or more.

We were proud of the role that a Jackson young man, Charles Campbell, played in the sad occasion. Charles, on the staff of Sen. Russell and one of his favorites, was at the bedside in Walter Reed Army Medical Center Thursday afternoon when he died as were two sisters, Mrs. J. K. Stacy of Atlanta, Mrs. Hugh Peterson of Ailey and Proctor Jones, another administrative assistant. Charles bore a heavy responsibility of coordinating funeral plans, making travel arrangements, and numerous other chores that had to be done, many that involved rigid timing. We saw him several times during the day and it is easy to perceive why Sen. Russell held this sterling young man in such high esteem and favor. The confidence the Russell family reposes in him is tremendous.

The crowds oohed and ahhed at glimpses of the great and the near great as they made their way down the brick walkway to the tents for family and dignitaries in front of the bier. It was a Washington roll of honor—minus of course those that were stranded in Charleston. Humphrey, Laird, Rogers, Blount, the Chiefs of Staff,

and those from Georgia headed by Gov. Carter, Dean Rusk, Lester Maddox and statehouse officials by the dozen. But the man who caught this writer's eye was Carl Vinson of Milledgeville, the influential Georgian who held sway in the House until his recent retirement, who strode by, despite his years, with a brisk pace, his black Homburg atop his silver locks, glistening with the steady mist, his voice and demeanor strong, a legend in the House as was the man in the Senate whom he had come to honor on this dismal Sabbath.

It is safe to assume that not a county was unrepresented at Winder from the time Sen. Russell's body arrived there late Saturday afternoon until he was laid to rest at 3:35 Sunday afternoon in the family plot beside his beloved mother. Their grief was deep, their sorrow genuine. From all walks of life they came to file by his bier in the rotunda of the capitol and at his home. Mink and ermine brushed against coats from bargain basements and no one cared. The appeal of Dick Russell transcended class, for after all he was a friend of all the people. The people of Georgia took Dick Russell close to their hearts and held him there during almost 50 years of public service. His relationship with his people was unique and will not likely be repeated again in Georgia politics. Why? Simply because there is not likely to be another Dick Russell.

The eulogies were magnificent but in no wise did credit to the man for whom they were intended. His life was his greatest eulogy. It said in over 50 years of faithful and dedicated public service what sorrowing friends could not say in three, five or 15 minutes no matter how brilliant the orator or how flattering the phrase.

My eulogy of this great man would be two simple but meaningful sentences. "His conscience never betrayed him. His common sense never deserted him." What two wonderful things to be said of any person, but in Dick Russell they were peculiarly true.

Many Georgians will aver that our state's greatest citizen was buried neath the dun, gray, spilling clouds in Winder Sunday afternoon. That is beyond argument. Our nation produces such a man only twice or thrice a century.

Richard Brevard Russell is at home, asleep for a while beneath the stately pines and magnolias that border the family plot. His labors are o'er, and like Nelson at Trafalgar he can lay down his sword and his life knowing that the victory's won. May he rest in the peace he has so richly earned.

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union, Jan. 22, 1971]

Richard Russell: A Giant Passes

There was something almost Wagnerian in the death of Georgia's Sen. Richard Brevard Russell on the day and near the hour that the United States Congress, which he loved and honored above all earthly institutions, convened in its 92nd biennial term.

The dean and president pro tempore of the Senate, in which he had served without interruption since 1933, died at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center where he had been under treatment since Dec. 8.

Sen. Russell, who also served as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, to which he succeeded after many years as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, without question wielded as much influence in Washington as any other man in Congress of either party.

Sen. Russell sprang from a large Georgia family distinguished for its public service. He was the son and namesake of one of the most distinguished Chief Justices in the history of the Georgia State Supreme Court.

The younger Richard was the youngest man ever to be elected Governor of his state at 33, after winning his political spurs as a county attorney, member of the state legislature, and speaker of the legislative House of Representatives.

As ranking member or chairman of the two most powerful Senate committees during and after the war years, Sen. Russell was privy to more national defense secrets than any other member of Congress, but he won and held the complete confidence of all the Presidents and high military commands with whom he worked for his ability never to violate a confidence, large or small.

But while walking with kings, Dick Russell never lost the common touch. As precious in his eyes as the integrity of the United States Congress were his family and friends and neighbors throughout the state of Georgia with whom he kept in close and constant touch, and especially those closest to him in and around his ancestral home in the little town of Winder, near Atlanta.

The Senator enjoyed these family reunions as much or more than his mother and his many brothers and sisters, but he himself never married. He buried himself as completely as possible in his public service out of love for the institution of which he was a member, but most of all out of love for the country he was privileged to serve in high office.

Russell was not without his critics and political enemies, but no one ever dared attack him on any level other than legitimate differences of opinion or political philosophy.

It was frequently said of him by his friends and associates that the accident of his Southern origin was the only major bar to any aspirations he might have had for the Presidency.

Sen. Russell will be long remembered and honored in the Senate to which he gave long and valued service, and in his state and throughout the South of which he was a towering symbol. It is regrettable that the nation as a whole probably will never know the extent of his contribution to the preservation of the principles laid down by the founding fathers.

[From the Jesup (Ga.) Sentinel, Jan. 28, 1971]

Georgia's Last Statesman Is Gone. . . .

With the death of U.S. Senator Richard B. Russell of Winder, Georgia, the entire nation has lost one of its finest statesmen.

He was not only respected by Georgians, but by other states as well and it has often been said that he would have been President of the United States had he not lived in the wrong section of the country. He sought the nomination at the urging of friends and political

associates in 1952 but lost out to another Democrat who was defeated by President Eisenhower in the 1952 election.

It is well remembered that during the middle fifties, Georgia had the reputation of having the two most powerful men in the U.S. Senate. They were Senators Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell. With the passing of Sen. George, Russell was regarded as the most outstanding statesman in the entire U.S. Senate.

His political career began in the twenties when he was elected to the Georgia Legislature. He served one term as Speaker of the House and then went on to serve one term as Governor of Georgia. He was elected to his first full term as a U.S. Senator in 1932, succeeding the late Rebecca Felton who finished the term of Senator Harris and became the first woman U.S. Senator in the history of the United States.

Although young in years when going to the Senate, he very soon became a powerful figure on the Washington scene and was the Dean of the U.S. Senate upon his death.

Although it has been over 40 years ago, this writer can remember serving as a page in the Georgia Legislature when Senator Russell was speaker of the house. Even then, he was regarded as a "giant" among men and politicians at a very early age.

Georgia and the nation has lost an outstanding statesman and leader with the loss of Richard Brevard Russell.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal, Jan. 23, 1971]

Richard B. Russell

Perhaps U.S. Sen. Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia was an exception to the rule, but his illustrious career representing the people of his state and of the nation in Washington belies the contention of some ambitious young liberals today that the seniority system stultifies the Congress.

Seldom has the death of a political figure below the rank of president brought forth such an outpouring of tributes as there was Thursday upon the distinguished Georgian's death, for it had long been recognized that he was one of the few great men in the Senate who have been statesmen as well as politicians.

The attainments of Sen. Russell recall those of his predecessor as senior senator from Georgia, the honored Walter F. George, whose belief in a moderate to conservative political philosophy so ired President Franklin D. Roosevelt that he tried unsuccessfully to purge him from the Senate. But at election time the people of Georgia said no. Sen. George, too, was a man of statesmanlike qualities and held high authority under the seniority system.

Were J. William Fulbright, Albert Gore et al listening when President Richard Nixon paid his tribute to Sen. Russell? He said, "When the security of the United States was the issue six American presidents leaned upon this great patriot, and he never failed them. The nation whose security was his constant concern for four decades in the upper chamber will be ever in his debt."

[From the La Grange (Ga.) Daily News, Jan. 23, 1971]

Richard B. Russell Dam: Memorial To Greatness

Senator Richard B. Russell will be buried Sunday, but the memory of this man of greatness will remain in the minds of all Georgians.

In reverence to the memory of one of this country's greatest statesman, The Daily News advocates that the West Point dam and reservoir be named the "Richard B. Russell Dam."

What more fitting name could this project bear? Who among us deserves the honor more?

The Daily News calls on our representatives in Congress, Senator Herman Talmadge and Sixth District Congressman John J. Flynt, to take the necessary action to bring this to reality.

We respectfully ask that our County and State legislators give their unanimous support to a cause which will preserve the memory of a great man to our children and our grandchildren.

To Him God A Living Presence

Richard Brevard Russell, the man who made the United States Senate his life, will be borne back in death today to his native red clay soil.

The body of the famous senator, who climbed to greatness without losing touch with the common man, will lie in state in the Russell family home, white frame and white pillared, in the community of Russell, incorporated in 1903 and named after his father.

The town's population is listed as only 378 but it enjoys the undeniable distinction of being the home of Georgia's favorite son.

Even in the last hours of his life Russell continued his fight for the Southland that he loved so dearly, and on his deathbed left his legacy to the Senate.

Russell sent the vote which deposed Edward Kennedy as assistant Senate Democratic leader and elevated to that post Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia.

All during the day Friday, words of praise poured in from every section of the nation for the senior senator from Georgia who died in Washington Thursday.

President Nixon said Russell's character and courage "moved him indisputedly into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate."

Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott called him "a giant among giants" and Republican whip Robert Griffin of Michigan called him a "senator's senator."

Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi said of the Georgian: "More than anyone in Washington for the last 20 years Richard Russell had the best grasp of all the major problems of our government."

And Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana called him "the ablest member of the Senate who represented an institution, an exemplary standard, a code of ethics."

Sen. Herman Talmadge termed Russell a "legend in his own time" and Carl Vinson declared of him: "He was one of the most brilliant men of my acquaintance. He was possessed of an analytical mind that was unsurpassed."

And there were a multitude of other words of praise. coming from both the highplaces and from the man on the street, who felt that he had lost his greatest friend of government.

But perhaps the words which will be remembered and cherished most by the family of Richard B. Russell will be those spoken by Bishop John Owen Smith of the United Methodist Church.

Said Bishop Smith: "Senator Russell will be remembered as one of history's most powerful, yet most humble men.

"He personified a rare form of greatness. To him God was a living presence and the Kingdom of Christ was the idea to which the future belonged."

[From the Liberty County (Ga.) Herald, Jan. 28, 1971]

Senator Richard B. Russell

We join with all Georgians in mourning the passing of Senator Richard B. Russell who died Thursday, January 21. He was buried in his boyhood hometown of Winder.

Russell was senior member of the U.S. Senate and had served nearly 50 years in public service as a state legislator, governor and senator.

President Richard M. Nixon came to Georgia to place a wreath at the foot of the flag-draped coffin of Senator Russell in the rotunda of the Georgia State Capitol.

"To six presidents of the United States he was an advisor and a tower of strength in all areas of foreign policy and national defense." Nixon said after paying his respects. "I would remember Senator Russell as a president's senator, a senator a president could always turn to in a hard situation."

Richard Russell was sworn in January 12, 1933, after serving as Georgia's youngest governor at the age of 33.

He became president pro tem of the Senate—presiding in the absence of the vice president—and Appropriations Committee chairman two years ago upon the retirement of Sen. Carl Hayden, D-Ariz.

Russell gave up his chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee to take over Appropriations.

He was an advisor to six presidents and as a Southerner, defied tradition in 1952 by seeking the Democratic presidential nomination. He was best known as chief Southern strategist in unsuccessful fights against three modern-day civil rights bills.

The Senator's last significant visit to Liberty County was in April of 1954 when he made the principal address at the bicentennial celebration of Midway Church. The descendant of the Midway Colonists spoke during the morning services.

He always fought for strong legislation providing for a strong national defense and was dedicated to his service to this nation. During his 1954 speech here Senator Russell said, "The heart of our people is sound. The things we strive to preserve are without price." This he defended to the utmost.

Rest in peace, Senator.

[From the Louisville (Ga.) News and Farmer, Jan. 28, 1971]

Georgians Remember Russell

(The following guest editorial, written by Mrs. Virginia Price Saxon, longtime editor of the News and Farmer, perhaps best of any written tribute to the late Senator Richard Russell, depicts the feelings of Georgians over the loss of this great man. Mrs. Saxon wrote many articles about him during the past fifty years, but we think this one may best be remembered.)

One small plot in North Georgia will always be hallowed ground. The grave of Senator Richard Russell will be the mecca of thousands of Americans who will go there to stand a moment, give thanks for this great and good man and pray that others will follow his example in love of country and put self aside and help mold our nation in a wise and Christian pattern. He sleeps there in the Georgia soil that he loved, surrounded by the people he loved.

His wish to spend his long sleep and rest in the vicinity to which he always turned for physical rest and refreshment of spirit is in keeping with his life long modesty and humility. He did not choose to be buried with other great national heroes in the great environment where he spent so great a part of his life in serving the nation. His taste was simple and he eschewed fanfare.

But his funeral was not simple nor informal.

In spite of lowering clouds and heavy rain thousands and thousands of folks were there to pay respect to their beloved and respected leader. Helicopters and great jets were parked there, bringing important people from all over the nation. Big shiny new cars were parked in available space. Dilapidated old cars and trucks sat forlornly in the downpour. People were there whose homes had been saved during the depression. Men were there whose jobs had been saved. Young people were there whose health and educational opportunities were furthered by Sen. Russell's school lunch program. Tears on many cheeks mingled with raindrops. It was the home coming of a hero and every one there was remembering some personal kindness or thinking of his wise counsel to six Presidents who had leaned on his advice in times of national emergency. Everyone there was aware of the debt the nation, as well as Georgians, owed this gallant man who served so unselfishly for peace, goodwill, economic prosperity and opportunity for all men.

After this half century of public service he sleeps there where he longed to be, enshrined in his beloved home land, enshrined in the hearts of people. May he sleep well. Home is the sailor, home from the sea and the hunter home from the hills.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Times, Jan, 25, 1971]

Richard Russell Was Indeed a Giant

In commenting on the death of Georgia's senior senator, Richard B. Russell, both President Nixon and former President Lyndon Johnson called him a "giant."

They were referring not only to the fact that Senator Russell was a man of powerful influence and prestige in the Senate, but to the fact that he possessed a quality totally antipathetical to the glossy ideal of the political personality today.

Richard Russell would never have starred on television. He possessed an ovoid head, a hooked nose, and a receding chin. But so totally lacking in personal vanity was he, so self-confident in the knowledge of his field, that he endowed his presence with a kind of majesty. The word "giant" comes inescapably to mind.

From the time he entered Georgia's legislature at age 23 until he died, a United States senator, at 73, he was preoccupied with politics and legislation and government to the exclusion of almost everything else. He remained a bachelor. He avoided social functions. He applied himself so assiduously to mastering the machinery and the substance of the Senate that no colleague was his match.

He was, however, a captive of his Southern background with regard to the cresting wave of civil rights. He resisted the inevitable, insisting meanwhile, with complete sincerity, "I'm as interested in the Negro people of my state as anyone else in the Senate. I was brought up with them. I love them."

It is pointless to speculate whether—had he been from another state—he could have won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952, when he had brief hopes to do so, uncharacteristic for such a hard-eyed realist.

It is pointless, too, to speculate whether the televised campaigns of today have made it unlikely for a man of Richard Russell's endowments to succeed in politics. If this is true, it is the nation's loss—a proposition to which even those who opposed him must agree.

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, Jan. 22, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL, MOST LOVED, MOST POWERFUL GEORGIAN

We shall not see his likes again, that gentle Georgian who was at one and the same time the most powerful and the most beloved member of the United States senate.

May our children remember well the name of Richard Brevard Russell.

Even when his colleagues disagreed with him, they deeply admired and respected him. Sometimes his fellow Georgians found themselves at odds with his stand on a particular issue but no Georgian ever doubted the senator's integrity, his sincerity, his determination to do the right as God had given him the light to see that right.

Harry Truman once said Sen. Russell would have been President had he been from some other section of the country. Perhaps he would have. And probably it is a condemnation of the rest of the country that sectionalism barred him from the post. But Richard B. Russell was never bitter over his fate. On the contrary he proudly called himself a Georgian, he kept his soft Southern accent until his dying breath, he maintained his courtly manner to the very end, he died a Georgian humbly in the service of his nation.

No, we shall never see his likes again. Richard B. Russell, third in line of succession to the presidency of the United States. Second only to the president in power because of his preeminence in the Senate. And first in the hearts of Georgians to whom he gave his entire adult life in faithful and effective service.

Surely if any man has ever earned the right to eternal rest from his labors, Richard Russell is that man. In deep sadness, Georgia prepares to receive her noblest son.

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, Jan. 30, 1971]

FOOTNOTES ON RUSSELL

(By Robert Allen and John Goldsmith)

Harry Truman said it first—that if Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., had come from a northern, or even a border state, he might "well have been President."

That appraisal was variously restated by Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield, Mont., and other colleagues after Russell's death last week. It is one of those brilliantly perceptive comments which, on analysis, are not quite accurate.

Russell was, to be sure, a man endowed with presidential talents including especially, an ability to make hard judgments. He could relate complex and esoteric problems to the real, political world. In capacity, he towered above most of his colleagues.

It is, however, simply unreal to imagine a Richard B. Russell from outside the South. The courtly demeanor, the inflexible commitment to personal integrity, the family tradition and patriotic view of public service—all quite Southern—were an important part of Russell—a part not separable.

In that context it is worth remembering that Russell's one announced bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, at the national convention in 1952, produced an embarrassment which was to rankle with Russell for the rest of his life.

As that Chicago convention moved toward balloting, an over-zealous Russell publicist issued a statement asserting that the senator, if nominated and elected, would seek "changes" in the Taft-Hartley labor law. The statement was ingeniously worded so that it would mollify organized labor and not upset Russell's conservative supporters.

Russell felt the statement added up to an unprincipled bid for labor support. He spoke of it with distaste in later years.

FDR New Dealer—Much that was unusual about this extraordinary man has been ignored in the week since his death here.

In recent years he has been, as reported, a leading conservative among congressional Democrats. Forgotten, however, is the fact that, as the young governor of Georgia (he was only 35), Russell gave a seconding speech for Franklin Delano Roosevelt's nomination in 1932 and that he was an FDR New Dealer during his early Senate years.

Russell wielded, as has been reported, unprecedented power in military matters as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and former chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. Yet he viewed his sponsorship of the federal school lunch program as his proudest legislative achievement and, for years, retained chairmanship of the appropriations subcommittee which handed out funds for farm programs.

Also of interest, at a time when the seniority system is under attack as an unfair hurdle for young lawmakers, is

the fact that, with senior senators waiting, Russell was made a member of the prestigious Appropriations Committee immediately on his arrival in the Senate 38 years ago. In a series of interviews last year with Cox Broadcasting Corp., Russell recalled that Senate leaders of that era had just experienced the tumultuous arrival of the late Huey Long and did not relish a dispute over committees with another young southern activist.

One of Russell's final acts (also unreported) benefited Senate employes, including the clique of bright young aides to liberal senators who viewed him as an unalloyed evil, an unremitting opponent of good works—especially civil rights legislation. A few days before his death, as the Senate's president pro tempore, Russell approved a new pay schedule which will let the salaries of Senate employes keep pace with other government salaries.

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and News, Jan. 24, 1971]

A Georgian To Remember

(By William Ott)

He came into the world on a bleak autumn day in 1897.

His father, a circuit judge, adjourned court and rushed home, overjoyed that after three daughters at last a son had been born to bear his name.

Judge Richard B. Russell Sr. was not an impetuous man. Yet he could not restrain himself from running out into the backyard with his old doublebarrel shotgun and firing a noisy blast into the air to celebrate the arrival of Dick Russell.

The judge, who was to become chief justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, went back into the house and gave the attending physician such a hearty slap on the back that the good doctor, of slight build anyway, was sent reeling across the room.

Judge Russell pulled out $10, twice the normal fee for delivering a baby at that time, and restored the doctor's professional dignity.

Thus was welcomed into life Richard Brevard Russell Jr.

Tomorrow the Senate of the United States will ring with eulogies about the man who was foremost in the most powerful parliamentary body in the history of the world.

What was there about this statesman that caused presidents to defer to his judgment, opponents and critics to respect him, and no man to think him mean or unworthy?

What qualities did he have to make President Nixon precede his State of the Union message with a touching tribute to a fallen giant?

If somehow we could isolate, understand and emulate the rare qualities brought together so abundantly in the character of the late senator, the nation would be lifted to heights beyond our fondest dreams.

The mind goes back a few years to a scene in the Senate chamber. Sen. Russell had returned to Washington after an extended illness. He was about to announce for another term. His colleagues were genuinely pleased to see him looking so robust and they wanted the nation—and particularly his constituents in Georgia—to know the boundless admiration they had for him.

Sen. Talmadge welcomed back the senior senator. The Senate rose in thunderous applause. Then a hush fell over the place.

One by one, the senators eloquently spoke their hearts. First there was Everett Dirksen. Then Mike Mansfield. Sen. Jackson of Washington. Kuchel of California.

Symington of Missouri: "Sen. Richard Russell has a better understanding of what is necessary in the way of forces and weapons and overall policy for the security of the United States than any other member of Congress."

After Sen. Aiken of Vermont, Sen. Stennis of Mississippi added his tribute: "The Senate has many outstanding members in many fields, but none who equal the senior senator from Georgia in this respect. His knowledge includes a most intimate acquaintance with the most vital parts of government, not only in the legislative branch but in the others as well."

Each senator tried to outdo the other. On and on they went. Lausche of Ohio. Young of North Dakota. Pastore of Rhode Island. Case of New Jersey. Simpson of Wyoming. Yarborough of Texas. Morton of Kentucky. Inouye of Hawaii ("I join my colleagues in welcoming back the country's greatest senator").

There were many others.

At last Dick Russell stood and looked about him, obviously deeply affected by the outpouring of affection.

"Mr. President," he said in his soft Georgia drawl, "protocol and common decency demand that I undertake to express my appreciation and humility for the generous remarks which my colleagues have made about me today."

"My first disposition was to refrain from saying anything because I was so deeply touched by these laudatory statements, but that would have certainly reflected on the Senate if any member of this body who has served for more than 30 years ever found himself unable to speak no matter what the circumstances or conditions."

He expressed his gratitude, and then spent the rest of his few minutes on the floor praising the doctor, nurses and staff who had helped his recovery.

So very typical of the man.

There was much gladness in the Russell home in 1897 when he arrived. There is much sadness on this day when the world surrenders to a wooded hillside in northeast Georgia the tired body of Dick Russell, who served us far better than he knew.

The Measure of a Senator

(By Joseph Parhan)

There will be sadness at his departure and respect for his memory as the mortal remains of Georgia's senior senator are lowered into a grave this afternoon but let there be no maudlin outpouring of grief. When each breath is a struggle and each struggle taxes a weary body a bit more death may not be unwelcome.

It is a pity that great men have not always been able to choose the moment when they step off the stage of history. Sir Winston Churchill lingered long after his finest hours but Franklin D. Roosevelt died a war-time president with the world generally unaware of his failing mental and physical faculties.

Dick Russell fell at the zenith of his power: chairman of the most powerful committee in the Congress, oldest

senator in point of service, confidant of presidents, a leader looked to for guidance not only by southerners but by numerous other senators from both parties.

But the winds of change are beginning to stir. The seniority system which helped perpetuate the power of lawmakers representing the South is under serious attack. The southern bloc has lost its cohesiveness. Senator Russell likely would have shaken his head in sorrow at the changes we may see taking place on Capitol Hill.

Wherever I have gone in Georgia and in conversation related that I was born in Winder the comment has been, "Oh, that is Dick Russell's town." All Georgians may not have known where the county seat of Barrow is located but all knew that was where the senator was from.

He was the representative from Barrow County when I was a little boy there and my faher, who worked for the Winder News, was a friend and admirer of Richard Brevard Russell. The feeling was reciprocated. When Russell was elected governor in 1931 he appointed my dad to a job in the State Capitol and my family moved to Atlanta. Early in 1933 Russell, 35 years of age, was sworn in as the youngest member of the U.S. Senate at the time.

As a newspaper editor I visited the senator when I was in Washington. These were not merely polite calls. A man who listened always learned something from Dick Russell. He received me with that unfailing courtesy which characterized him, usually took me to lunch in the Senate dining room and introduced many of his colleagues who helped run the nation. Then, partly out of genuine respect for my father and partly because he really wanted to know what the folks back home were thinking and talking about, we would go back to his office and talk—off the record. Humorous stories of other men in public life. Grave concern about trends in American life. Sometimes a gentle but firm chastisement of the occupant of the White House.

Once a friend and I invited him to dinner. We always deemed it a high compliment that he broke a rule about going out at night, and accepted.

Harry Truman said of him that he could have been president if he had not been from the South. I believe this is so. I remember 1952 and the Russell-for-President campaign.

The senator had decided to test whether a conservative voice would be heeded in the councils of the Democratic party. He had 21 other senators checking the temperature of the political waters.

He got 294 votes at Chicago. Not all were from the South but there were not enough. He was nominated and the hoopla started. I sat there a moment at the stockyards convention hall listening to the bands playing "Dixie" and remembered what kind of man the senator was. Then I forgot about being an impartial reporter, grabbed a banner and marched around the floor yelling, "Hurrah for Dick Russell."

Sen. Russell Great Orator

(By George Landry)

Dick Russell stood strong and tall among men. I think he probably would want that mentioned above all else.

The first thing you notice about Henry Cabot Lodge is the fact that he is so tall. So is Lyndon Johnson. Standing alongside them in a picture, Sen. Russell more than held his own in height.

Eloquent was the word for Sen. Russell. He was brilliant of mind on the military. He knew full-well you had to stay strong in order to stay—period.

He was gentlemanly, courteous, a world architect in money matters and finance, majestic among men and, yet, in a homey manner, sometimes like a bashful boy, a truly great servant, yet a greatly humble one.

You didn't have to make any choice. He had both good grammar and good taste.

As an orator, the senator was the greatest, his manner of speech so finely expressive and in such statesman-like splendor, he was a real challenge for a reporter to cover, his great quotes somewhat difficult to catch in toto at times.

Yet, he was always kind enough to "unravel" anything he might have said for even the dumbest of us.

Those who ever had the privilege of covering him in stories or pictures will miss him, too. Theirs is the same emptiness as yours—only a little more so.

[From the Madison (Ga.) Madisonian, Jan, 28, 1971]

A Great Man Walked Our Way

The great of the land came to Georgia during the weekend to pay tribute to one of the most distinguished Georgians in our state's long history, Sen. Richard B. Russell.

Sen. Russell, who lost his bout with emphysema Thursday, was a giant in the United States Senate, a man of vast intelligence, character and ability. He served as adviser to six presidents and was referred to in the Senate as the "Senator's Senator". President Nixon called him the "President's Senator."

The North Georgia native served 38 years in the Senate of the United States, longer than any other man, and his picture will hang with the five or six great men considered most influential in the legislative body during this nation's history.

A great man walked our way in these northeast Georgia hills and the nation; our state and the world are indebted to him for the sharing of the wealth of his mind, his integrity and his character and for the example of leadership he leaves behind. Except for the fact that he was born a southerner in an era when a southerner could not be elected president, he would in all probability have served as one of the country's truly great presidents. This honor was denied him, but he exerted an influence on the course of this nation's history for a much longer period than most presidents.

Members of the Russell family have been leaders in the state for generations and have moulded a lasting place for themselves in the state's history. Most impressive has been the record of Sen. Russell and the example of dedication to country, love of family and devotion to duty as exemplified in the life of this courtly gentleman from Winder, Georgia.

[From the Marietta (Ga.) Daily Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

He served his people well.

In a lifetime of accomplishment, Richard Brevard Russell received countless expressions of tribute and esteem. Some of them are reproduced on this page. But none, we think, meant more to him than the knowledge that he served his constituents faithfully and ably through more than 50 years in public office, almost 40 of them in the United States Senate.

More than once he said: "I have been elected to represent and work for Georgia's interest in Washington—and not Washington's interest in Georgia."

That was the creed he preached, and that was the creed he pursued. From the time he was elected to the Georgia House from Barrow County at the age of 22 to his days as president pro tem of the greatest deliberative body in the world, Richard Russell never forgot the people who elected him to office.

And the people who elected him never had a spokesman of greater integrity, wisdom, energy or astuteness than the man from Winder. After a brief but fruitful tenure in the Georgia statehouse, he went on to Washington to shape the most productive career any Georgian has ever fashioned in the halls of Congress.

In the process, of course, he became much more than an eminent Georgian. He emerged as one of the great Americans of the 20th Century, a counselor of six Presidents, possessor of the most influential voice in the United States Senate, participant in most of the great decisions of the past 20 years in Washington.

But Georgia and Georgians remained his first love and devotion to the end. Though his body could have lain in state in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, an honor accorded few men, Sen. Russell directed before his death that his body be returned to Georgia for any public services. So it will lie in state in the Georgia Capitol rotunda, where Russell first endeared himself to Georgians and where they can now come to pay their last respects.

It will be a fitting farewell for the senator from Georgia, a man who served his people well.

[From the Marietta (Ga.) Daily Journal, Jan. 22, 1971]

RUSSELL MADE US PROUD TO BE GEORGIANS

(By Carroll Dadisman)

Many of us can't remember Georgia and the United States Senate without a Senator Russell.

For more than half of his constituents, the tenure of Richard Brevard Russell in Washington was longer than they had lived.

It is hard to imagine Georgia and the Senate without him.

For those of us who grew up and lived in Georgia during the past four decades, Richard Russell was more than just an institution in his own lifetime. He was a man who not only represented Georgia, and served the nation, for most of his years, he was also a man who always made us proud to be Georgians, whose presence on the national scene ever enhanced rather than diminished Georgia's and the South's image in the eyes of others. And you couldn't say that about many office holders from the South or any other region.

THE LITTLE THINGS

But those of us who came to know Russell in even the most casual way will remember best the little things.

As a newsman who interviewed Russell on several occasions, my favorite memory of the Senator is from the early 1960s, when I was in Washington as a staff writer on an Augusta paper attending a State Dept. briefing.

Late in the afternoon, making some calls on Capitol Hill offices of several congressmen and senators, I found a courteous but rather curt reception in most offices of the busy legislators. By the time I reached Senator Russell's office, about 7 p.m., I doubted that I would even get a chance to talk to the Senator, whose responsibilities far outweighed others who had barely had time for a few quick questions and answers.

But when I was escorted into the mammoth, library-like private office of Senator Russell, I immediately was made to feel more relaxed than I had anywhere else in Washington. I don't remember what the interview was about, but I clearly remember the senator leaning back in his chair, laughing and reminiscing about friends in Augusta and other cities of my acquaintance.

I remember his talking candidly and informally to a person he hardly knew for the better part of a half hour, at the end of a long day of Senate activity. And I recall, well after 7, when almost everyone except the janitors and maids had left the ornate halls of the Old Senate Office Building, leaving Russell's office and being told by an aide that he would probably be there another hour or two reading in his office, before retiring to his modest Washington apartment nearby.

TRUE HUMILITY

There were other visits to that office, and other interviews. And the relaxed atmosphere, the eagerness of the senator to talk about friends back home in Georgia and the unpretentious way he discussed the great issues in which he was caught up, never changed.

One of the marks of truly great individuals is that they never get so caught up in their own importance that they lose genuine respect and affection for fellow human beings. Senator Russell was such a man. He possessed an authentic humility that complemented, not contradicted, his inner toughness and confidence.

We will not soon see his like again.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, Jan. 23, 1971]

THE 'SENATOR'S SENATOR'

Richard Russell, who spent more than half of his 73 years in the United States Senate, was known as the "senator's senator." Few if any in his lifetime were more respected or more influential, Harry Truman once said that if Senator Russell had not been a product of the South "he may very well have been president of the United States."

Russell's death, and the void he leaves, are large parts of changes occurring in the Senate, often called the nation's most exclusive club.

Edward Kennedy, a prime contender for the 1972 presidential nomination in the Democratic Party, has been bumped from the job as party whip. This seems no great loss, especially since Kennedy has been delinquent in carrying out his duties. Now it's somewhat like the football substitute who gets the job because he throws for more touchdowns than the No. 1 quarterback. Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, regarded as a conservative, was Kennedy's "sub" and was the one who beat him in party caucusing. Louisiana's Senator Allen J. Ellender, much more "dovish" than Russell, becomes chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

The military establishment—from Pentagon to contractors—has to realign its liaison with Senate leadership.

Ellender, a dove, goes up to one of the most powerful positions in the Senate. Kennedy, a dove, is shot down.

The Kennedy demotion is aside from Russell's death, but coming together they mean that the generals and admirals have to find new ways of dealing with the Senate. They won't find Ellender so eager to listen to their arguments for a strong military setup. They may look to Byrd to press their cause more than Ted Kennedy would.

As for Dick Russell, he was indeed a "senator's senator." You might even say, a "politician's politician."

Russell, brother of a Memphis minister, was governor of Georgia at the age of 33. He was 35 when he took a seat in the Senate. His political handicap in seeking the presidency was his forthright support of state's rights and his Southern background. But he rose in the Senate to head the Armed Services Committee for more than 15 years, and then in 1969 moved over to chair the Appropriations Committee. That gave him the right to be in charge of the defense appropriations subcommittee, so Russell had his mind on the military purse. No one argued about his ability to take that responsibility, although some disagreed with him on special points.

Even his opponents listened to him, and often took his advice, even though it conflicted with their beliefs. He was privy to the White House through six presidencies.

His skill as a parliamentarian was unmatched.

Last February President Nixon referred to Senator Russell, a loyal opponent, as "a great leader of this country."

He was all of that, and that special club, the Senate, will miss his talent and leadership. This nation, which owes much of its military power and know how to Senator Russell, also owes him a debt of gratitude.

[From the Metter (Ga.) Advertiser, Jan. 28, 1971]

FAREWELL, MR. RUSSELL . . .

(By R. G. Daniell)

Georgia, the Nation and the Free World are saddened by the death of one of Georgias most noble sons, Senator Richard B. Russell.

He was truly a great Georgian, a great American and a great world leader for freedom.

It was my high honor to have been a warm personal friend of this great man for forty years. Our friendship and association began in the summer of 1930 when he was in the race for the Georgia Governorship.

My sincere sympathy is extended to the Senator's family and to all Georgians who feel as I do, deeply saddened by his death.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 22, 1971]

SEN. RICHARD RUSSELL

Sen. Richard Brevard Russell was an American statesman about whom one has no hesitancy in applying the adjective "great."

Unfortunately for the senator and the nation, geography prevented him from reaching the full measure of his greatness. Even his critics freely concede that he would have been nominated for President, and probably elected, had he not been from the South.

As it was, he gave the nation invaluable leadership in the legislative branch. His long tenure in the Senate gave him enormous power and influence which he used in a manner that earned him nationwide respect.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 24, 1971]

RUSSELL KEPT RACIAL BATTLE FROM DESTROYING U.S.

(By Sylvan Meyer)

The national obituaries are saying that the late Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia became lonely and embittered during the final years of his service, hurt because a Southerner could not become President.

I think "lonely and embittered overstates the case. Sen. Russell always kept to himself, preferring to read and study alone rather than socialize around Washington. His concentration on being a Senator and on the nation's directions fully occupied him. His singleness of purpose explains why he was right most of the time.

Some biographer, after four or five years of study, will let us know more about Sen. Russell. Meanwhile, the role of such a man in the making of America tells us a great deal about how our system works and shows us how critical to the national life one man in one place at a time of historical turmoil can be.

I last talked to him about three and half years ago. He felt terrible. His aides limited my time in his office to ten minutes and I was through with my business in eight. Although the senator was totally attentive, his lips and hands trembled and he looked washed out.

We needed a bridge in Georgia, an inexpensive little span to cost about $550,000. It crossed a Corps of Engineer reservoir to a group of islands destined to be a state-developed resort and recreation center. We had put together an incredible combination of state moneys, federal grants in aid and matching monies and expected leases from private enterprise. But there was no money with which to build the bridge. No bridge, no project.

We asked Sen. Russell to urge the Corps of Engineers to build the bridge. They were the only agency legitimately entitled to do so. All the Senator said after the meeting was, "I'll look into it."

Two months later, he called to say the bridge was OK. Now it is built. The project is moving forward. He had simply called the Corps and told them to build it, and they did.

About that time, new civil rights legislation was popping. He performed as general of the opposition. Vietnam was erupting. He was chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee. He was the second ranking Senator in the United States. He was ill. But he kept up with everything.

It will long be debated whether this capable and dedicated man slowed down the country's march toward racial equality or, because of his absolute allegiance to our political system, speeded it along.

Sen. Russell defended his position, and that of the Southern Old Guard, through every accepted parliamentary device and every tactic of honorable politics. In the course of the battles in which he served as strategy chief he put down his wilder and less responsible colleagues. Except for one brief demagogic dodge—a proposal that two million Negroes be transplanted to Northern states to help Northerners' appreciation of the South's problems—he deliberately avoided the inflammatory rhetoric of the typical racial hardliner.

And when Sen. Russell lost, he lost. He did not beat dead horses. He discouraged his colleagues from engaging in recriminations. Such was his conviction that the democratic process had to be sustained that once a vote came and once the vote went against him and there was nothing left to do, he accepted the verdict of the system.

This is the essence of democratic philosophy. Those who do not accept defeat at the end of the battle are in fact conceding that they never respected the rules in the first place.

Had one of the wild ones controlled Southern senators rather than Russell, unspeakable disintegration of the processes of government could have occurred. Russell yielded inch by inch, giving his recalcitrant brothers time to absorb their shocks. He would not permit the defeated group to maintain perpetual guerrilla warfare nor violate the essential process of national decision making.

For the nation's sake, he was the best man to lead the wrong side at that time. He must have been aware of the fact that he was the only Southerner with the prestige and skill to command a retreat that would save the skins of his political brethren and at the same time prevent the country from tearing itself apart.

[From the Millen (Ga.) News, Jan. 28, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

(By Walter Harrison)

It was 40 years ago this year that I first met "Dick" Russell. He was Governor of our State, and I was a freshman Legislator. He was busily engaged during the first year in reorganizing the State Government. He succeeded in his plan and brought about many economies in its operations. He was never vascilating, always firm, and quite courteous.

Governor Russell soon became Senator Russell and from that day until now he has been greatly admired and respected by many thousands of Georgians as well as many thousands across the nation for his sterling qualities, his ability to lead, his sincerity of purpose, and his vision of building a greater nation.

We were most fortunate in having a man of his stature in the United States Senate. He had the interests of the common man, knew the needs of rural Georgia and rural America, and tried to supply them. His interest in agriculture was paramount. His interest in the whole nation was equally important in his thinking.

He did not seek to outshine anyone. The members of Congress naturally gravitated toward him because he was a born leader. His word was his bond. His dedication was never doubted and his abilities were unparalleled.

Probably I knew Dick Russell best as the Champion of rural electrification. For 25 years he handled the rural electrification appropriations in the United States Senate. He never did falter. His support was magnanimous.

In the field of Water Resource Development he was our champion. Many of the fine reservoir projects in Georgia can be attributed to his many contributions and his fine leadership. The Clark Hill Reservoir which was one of the first largest reservoirs to be developed in the State should be renamed "Lake Russell". His contributions in developing the other reservoirs has been outstanding, and because of his fine leadership, we have two more reservoir projects underway (Carters and West Point). We have four more in the planning stage and two of these are receiving appropriations this fiscal year because of Dick Russell. These projects have meant much to Georgia—more electricity at a cheaper cost, navigation, domestic water supply, and last but not least, recreation for millions.

We in this community owe a debt of gratitude for our local aquarium. He was successful in getting this in one of the Fish and Wildlife Bills in Congress, and it is one of the three in the Southeast. He always wanted to come here and dedicate the aquarium, but his leadership in the National Congress, his work as a Senator, plus a health problem prevented him from doing so. However, we are grateful for this community asset.

We always appreciated the intimate chats we had with him at breakfast in Washington, and we never called upon the Senator unless we were in great need. He realized this and always responded well.

My last communication from him was dated January 13th thanking me for a Christmas greeting card that I had sent and also my concern for his health.

We are one among thousands that feel a very keen and personal loss in his passing. His shoes will not be filled in my lifetime, but the work he has done will live on forever.

It is entirely benefiting that the Richard B. Russell library should be built on the campus of the University of Georgia and in it will be placed his voluminous files covering world events as well as his many mementos and trophies that he has so well earned.

It was a sad day this last Sunday when we bade our beloved Senator farewell. He has earned a rest, and we feel quite sure that in the years to follow that his stature

will grow greater and there will be a keener appreciation of the efforts of this wonderful public servant.

[From the Mobile (Ala.) Register, Jan. 23, 1971]

SENATOR RUSSELL

A statesman of great stature and the most sterling qualities, U.S. Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia is dead at a time when America critically needs more and not fewer men of his caliber in public life.

Steadfast and magnificent in his service to principles without which this nation could never have reached the pinnacle of world eminence, Senator Russell earned the "unparalleled prestige" of which Associated Press correspondent Dillon Graham wrote in a review of his career in Congress.

Men walk this earthly way but once and not enough like Senator Russell walk this way at all.

The Register's feeling of sadness over his death is deepened by his generous praise of our editorials supporting states' rights in the bitter fight that ended in the enactment of the atrocious 1964 federal force "civil rights" bill.

In a letter dated May 2 of that year, he wrote, "I again salute you for your fine series of editorials." And on June 4: "I always look forward to reading the very ably written editorials of The Register . . . Be assured that I shall not desist in my opposition to this federal force bill so long as I have the strength to resist and am not gagged by cloture."

Finally, after the thundering herd of political destructionists, unwilling to exempt even the Constitution of the United States from its warped steamroller, had prevailed, Senator Russell wrote of a Press Register editorial of July 26:

"Let me say that it goes a long way in easing the sting of being gagged and overwhelmed." Then he penned this footnote in longhand: "The Press Register did valiant work through the entire ordeal."

One of our most treasured experiences has been to stand in 1964 with that stalwart states' rights group in the Senate so faithfully typified by Sen. Richard B. Russell, whose name will live in distinguished honor in the archives of American statesmanship in its highest and noblest tradition.

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Jan. 23, 1971]

SENATOR RUSSELL OF WINDER

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat of Winder, Ga."

That, in its entirety, was Senator Russell's own biograpical sketch of himself in the Congressional Directory. It speaks volumes.

Other Senators memorialized themselves with long entries, ranging from two or three inches of small type to a page or more. Another southern Senator, Sam Ervin of North Carolina, for example, touts himself for more than a page of organizations, associations, honors, etc.

Not Senator Russell, dead at 73. Although the very brevity of his entry may be called a form of vanity in itself, he had used this as his sole identification for at least 15 years, as revealed by a check of old directories.

The last entry that gave any other facts was the directory for 1954, 83rd Congress, second session, and that was virtually the identical one he had used in 1940 and before, listing in 1½ inches only the briefest outline of his life and career; birthdate and place; education; entry into Georgia politics in 1921; Governor in 1931; his appointment to the Senate in 1932 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator William J. Harris; his election on his own in 1936.

Russell didn't have to shout his praises. His life abounded in them and if he knew it, as he must have, to the extent that only his name was necessary, it was another measure of his modesty and the denial of the power and respect he had achieved in national affairs.

As many have remarked, he was one of the two or three men in the Senate at the time of his death who deserved the overused and misused title of "statesman," and whose word was better than any bond.

Despite his bitterness at being rejected in 1952 when he sought the presidency, and when many admirers said that but for his southern birth he would be president, he carried on in the tradition of service to his state and country in the quiet, competent and thoroughly informed manner by which he was known. He read every line of the Congressional Record from his freshman days until his final illness.

Years ago, Harry Truman said:

"I believe that if Dick Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky he may well have been president." He was southern presidential material in a period when the South was under heavy assault because of the racial problem. He polled only 294 votes out of 1,200 at the Democratic convention in 1952, with the nomination going to Adlai Stevenson. But had as many voted for him as said they would except for his being from Georgia, he would have been the nominee.

He was then at the summit of his prestige, having just conducted with absolute impartiality the 8-week Senate investigation into President Truman's removal of Gen. MacArthur from his Far East commands.

In subsequent years, he grew more introverted, but remained one of the most powerful and respected men in the Senate. The latter-day critics of the war in Vietnam show how limited their vision was compared to Russell's.

In 1954, he warned the Eisenhower Administration that it would rue the day it sent arms and technicians to help the failing French in Southeast Asia. His argument prevailed for a time. But when the decision was made in late 1954, his response was characteristic:

"We commit the flag and I will support the flag. But it is going to be a long drawn-out affair in both blood and treasure."

He never wavered in his support of the war effort in Vietnam, or wavered in his opinion that the war was "one of the great tragedies of our history."

When he was offered the post of Senate Democratic leader in 1953, he rejected it and picked Lyndon B. Johnson for the job. His reason for rejection: "I am more concerned with my own thinking than with the Democratic Party nationally."

No white supremacist, he was nonetheless the civil rights firebands' most formidable foe in the Senate. He

kept his reasoned argument on such a high plane, his opponents respected him almost as much as if he were on their side.

Russell took his seat in the Senate in 1933, FDR's inaugural year, and was long a supporter of the New Deal, but grew increasingly conservative in later years, opposing much of Truman's Fair Deal legislation and the Great Society programs of Johnson.

"I'm a reactionary when times are good," Russell once said by way of explanation. "In a depression, I am a liberal."

Ted Kennedy once recalled that when he first entered the Senate in 1963, his brother the President instructed him to see Russell as "the first order of business," which he did.

A lifelong bachelor, Senator Russell followed the early advice of his father, who told him long ago: "Son, marry your work if you are going into a public career." The elder Russell didn't mean it so literally, but if ever a man was joined in wedlock to his public trust, it was Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga.

He was, by any measure, a great man, who made America greater and stronger through his work and by the example of his life.

[From the Moultrie (Ga.) Observer, Jan. 27, 1971]

DICK RUSSELL, "SENATORS' SENATOR"

Richard Brevard Russell, 73, the Georgian with a record of being the United States senator with the second longest (and perhaps most colorful) career in that great legislative body, has guided his last bill through the Senate and banged the gavel ending his last committee meeting,

Senator Russell, who rates as one of Georgia's most illustrious and distinguished citizens and political figures, died Thursday afternoon in a Washington hospital—victim of emphysema and other complications. But Senator Russell did not die in the memories of the four and a half million Georgians. He left behind him a great career to challenge those who aspire to office in political service to their state.

Never married, Senator Russell literally gave his life to Georgia and the nation—first as a 23-year-old state legislator, then governor during the depths of the Great Depression, and finally as a most valuable member of the U.S. Senate for 38 years.

The senior Georgia senator, who came from a politically minded family (his father was chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court), also was a lawyer of note and one of the most authoritative voices in America on the subject of military and international affairs.

Senator Russell was often referred to as the "Senators' Senator." Many attempted to prevail upon him to seek the Democratic nomination as President, but others felt his leadership and influence were of such magnitude and value to the Senate they discouraged him from leaving that body.

Twice during his career Senator Russell was voted the most effective member of the Senate in polls of his colleagues and the Washington press.

Father of the school lunchroom program, manager of the Rural Electric program which passed the Senate in the 1930s, and a powerful figure while at different times heading the Appropriations Committee and Armed Services Committee, Senator Russell made a tremendous contribution to his country—joining the late Senator Walter F. George as two outstanding Americans who won the admiration, respect and esteem of their countrymen from coast to coast.

Georgia has established a tremendous reputation for sending national leaders to the U.S. Senate. The life and work of Senator Richard B. Russell should serve as a guideline for Georgians in picking their future political leaders.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, Jan. 23, 1971]

SEN. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

It was characteristic of Georgia's Senior Senator, Richard B. Russell, that the total biographical reference to him in the Congressional Directory consisted of seven words, including his name:

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga."

A true giant doesn't boast of his size and strength; a patriotic public servant of his allegiance; a statesman of his statesmanship, nor a sage of his intellect. Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Ga., was all of these.

He did not need to boast. The United States of America, meaning its people, as well as colleagues in government on both sides of the party aisle, knew his stature. The sense of loss at his passing is deeply felt, and as widely shared as the area of his service and esteemed acquaintance.

Georgia loved him as its own, its youngest governor (1931) and elected to serve out the unexpired term of the late Sen. William J. Harris; he had occupied that key legislative position in the federal government for almost four decades—the span of a service unsurpassed for quality in Congress, and matched by few.

Senator Russell was conservative, but no reactionary. He stood for principle—a staunch adherent to the Constitution. He was a "favorite son" candidate of the South at the Democratic National Convention in 1948, receiving 263 votes for the presidential nomination.

In issues of profound national interest—as in consideration of essential matters of national security . . . domestic policy and foreign policy—he shunned partisanship. It was his way invariably to put his country first; and vote that way, whether on the Senate floor or in the committees of his dedicated membership.

In none of these did he render greater service than as chairman of the Armed Services Committee—where his stand for adequate preparedness contributed much to that enlightened detail for national and Free World security. In the latter years of his work on that committee, he was a leader in resisting the propagandic impact of the "Dovish" elements inside his own party—and blocking those who would have used the influence of that body for the Communist enemy not only in Asia but all over the world. He was a leading factor also in securing Senate sanction of the Nixon administration plan for ABM installations.

On all these questions he first informed himself thoroughly, then spoke his mind bluntly—for a judgment whose sincerity could not be questioned.

With the organization of the 91st Congress, he exchanged the Armed Services Committee chair for the Appropriations Committee, feeling the necessity of strong leadership there also.

He represented his state well, recognizing an obligation to speak for Georgia as judgment and conscience decreed. At the same time his allegiance was to the nation he loved, and which he served with the total strength of intellect and energy.

He was a great American, chiefest of any designation he could have wished. He is mourned, and will be missed in the halls of Congress and kindred areas of statecraft, which he adorned with distinguished service so many years.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Jan. 23, 1971]

Senator Russell Was a Power

It was frequently said of Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia that had he been from any other section of the country than the South, he might have been president. That says something for Mr. Russell's capabilities as a politician which is hard to dispute.

During his service in the Georgia assembly he was an orator with a common touch. When elected governor of Georgia, he was the youngest chief executive to take that office. He reorganized state government, reducing 102 departments, bureaus and commissions to 17.

When elected to the U.S. Senate, he was the youngest member of the upper chamber. On foreign policy and most other issues he was forward looking, except where government policies conflicted with special Southern interests—cotton, States Rights and white ascendancy.

In the 75th Congress, he led a filibuster against the antilynching bill and subsequently provided the generalship and the oratory against civil rights legislation of all kinds. Senator Russell was the acknowledged elder statesman of the Senate's southern bloc, and because of his seniority, was a powerful figure in the Senate. He was chairman of the appropriations committee and senior member of the influential armed services committee.

Despite his strong sectional loyalties, Senator Russell was held in esteem and respect by his colleagues. He was a courtly, soft-spoken man, without malice, who took his duties and responsibilities seriously. He was indeed a towering figure in the Senate of the United States.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 22, 1971]

Russell of Georgia

The death of Richard B. Russell of Georgia removes from the national scene the ablest and most widely respected of the orthodox Southern conservatives. In thirty-eight years in the Senate, he moved from a young New Deal supporter to dean and chief strategist of the Senate Establishment.

Like the heroes of the Confederacy whom he admired, Senator Russell fought for an old South that is dying because it was founded on racial injustices. But like those Confederate captains, he held his ground tenaciously, maneuvered his outnumbered forces with consummate skill, and earned the respect of his keenest foes.

His admirers recalled at his death as they once speculated in his life that had he been born in another region, he might have been President of the United States. But it is impossible to think of Richard Russell separated from Georgia and the South. He never dreamed of moving outside of the South's racial code. He left the painful and complex political transition to a younger and more flexible Southerner, his friend and protégé, Lyndon B. Johnson.

From the nation's standpoint, Senator Russell's greatest contribution was his calm reasonableness in times of crisis. During the MacArthur hearings of 1951, for example, his influence helped steady the Senate during weeks of doubt and turmoil. He privately counseled President Johnson in the winter of 1964–65 against taking the grave risks of intervention in Vietnam. But once Mr. Johnson decided otherwise, Senator Russell publicly supported him because it was his deepest conviction that the nation must always unite when in combat with a foreign enemy.

Public men, whether they are right or wrong, are measured by their character and by the size of the issues which concern them. By these standards, Richard Russell was a big man.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 23, 1971]

Voices of the South

(By James Reston)

ST. PETERSBURG—The Old South is mourning the death of Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, but there is a New South, now partly liberated from history, and the tragedy of Dick Russell is that he was sick and old when the political formation of the South took place.

He is a symbol of the accident of time and life in American politics. He had that gift, so rare and important now, of making people believe in his integrity as a person, even when they disagreed with his policies.

Nobody could have disagreed with his support of the military more than Sen. J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, but Fulbright believed in Russell, and thought he might very well have gone to the very pinnacle of American politics in the White House if he had been born at another time and in another place.

Russell never really got over the thought that he was rejected as a presidential nominee because he was a Southerner. He made one run at the presidency, but was passed over, not because he did not measure up to his competitors, but simply because he was from the South. And he died a sad, lonely and embittered man because of this rejection.

It it ironic and tragic to hear of his death here in the South, and to wonder what would have happened to him, with his gift with men, and his remarkable knowledge of the intricate, human American political process, if he had been a senator of the New South which is clearly now emerging.

Something remarkable and significant is happening in this part of the country. The men who have been appeal-

ing to regional and racial prejudice are declining. It is a little like what has been happening in the new nations of Asia and Africa.

The theatrical characters, appealing to the glories and prejudices of the past—Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukarno, etc. abroad; and Claude Kirk of Florida and Lester Maddox of Georgia—are being replaced by a new generation of politicians who are taking a wider view of local, national and world politics.

The new governor of Florida, Reuben Askew, took office the other day, rejecting the racial politics of his predecessor, and calling for "improved economic opportunities and equal rights for all our people, rural as well as urban, black as well as white."

The new governor of Dick Russell's state of Georgia, a peanut farmer, former state senator and nuclear submarine officer named Jimmy Carter, took office last week proclaiming, "The time for racial discrimination is over."

Similarly, the new governor of South Carolina, John C. West, announced in his inaugural address, "The politics of race and divisiveness . . . have been soundly repudiated."

So something is happening down here. Even George Wallace of Alabama, who was shouting eight years ago, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," took office the other day with a less provocative theme.

"We must not be a silent majority," he said in his inaugural speech, "but an alert, active voice within the law. Then we can help our state and nation."

Maybe this is all romantic campaign oratory, but one should not be cynical. Later it will be possible to compare words and actions, but the new governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, and the new governor of Arkansas, Dale Bumpers, like the new governors of Florida and Georgia, are obviously singing a different tune and seem to feel that there's a new world a-coming.

This is no historical accident. The struggle of the liberal newspapers, universities, colleges, churches, businessmen and mayors in the South during the lifetime of Russell have produced spectacular results, but they have done so over so long a span of time that the tranformation has not really been widely understood.

Like Russell, the newspapers in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Raleigh, Atlanta, St. Petersburg, Miami and elsewhere have had a hard time. And the same thing is true of the old universities in Chapel Hill and the new colleges like Florida Presbyterian College here in St. Petersburg, but the battle goes on, and things change much more than is generally realized.

In fact, the South seems to change these days even more than the North. It is too late for Dick Russell and the other remarkable men of the South who have been passed over by the prejudices and regionalism of the past.

A lot of good men have been cut down in the struggle—not only Russell of Georgia and Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta, and Terry Sanford of North Carolina—but out of their battles we are beginning to create a new national politics in which good men, from whatever region, and even from the smaller states, may in the future have an equal chance to get to the White House.

[From the North Georgia Tribune, Canton, Jan. 28, 1971]

Senator Russell Passes

We join the hundreds of other newspapers over the land in mourning the sad passing of Senator Richard B. Russell. We also extend our condolences to his family.

Senator Russell was a splendid man in his own right. Add to this the period of devoted public service he gave for more than 40 years, and the extent of his loss to the people becomes obvious.

He came as near filling the requirements of a statesman as is possible to define it, and he was at all times the gentleman.

[From the North Side News, Atlanta (Ga.), Jan. 28, 1971]

Richard Russell

In the death of Richard Brevard Russell, Georgia has lost her staunchest son.

All Georgians this week, mourn his passing. All must remember, too, how indebted we are to this man for his influence in the building of our state.

As Chairman of the Armed Forces Committee Senator Russell saw to it that Georgia gained tremendously in military establishment. The wealth that Fort Benning, Fort Gordon, and the Air Force bases in the south of the state bring into Georgia reminds us daily of his value to us in the Senate.

Lockheed, largest employer in the state, has also prospered as it has to a big extent because of the Senator's influence. He was generally acknowledged as having been responsible for getting the C–5A contract here.

But Georgia's pride in Senator Richard Russell has not stemmed only from these things.

Our pride in this man who served longer than any senator save one, has always been in his great character and integrity. President Richard Nixon, in paying tribute to Senator Russell at the State Capitol emphasized that point: that character was the great feature of the man's personality and influence.

He was a giant among men of this nation. He was Georgia's youngest governor, and the youngest man in the U.S. Senate when he took his seat there. He was the only Senator in the history of this country to serve more than half his life in the United States Senate, and his work there became his life. His devotion was respected and admired by citizens throughout the nation despite the bias toward the South which many of the representatives from this area have felt.

He would undoubtedly have been President of this nation, had he been from some part of the country other than the South. The nation was the loser because of this bias.

Though few remember it, one of Senator Russell's greatest achievements in the Senate may have been the passage of the school lunch program bill, of which he was the author. This was one of the things of which he was most proud. Many a child in Georgia, and all over this nation, has been nourished at school who might have gone hungry had the program not been instigated.

Russell's big heart, and concern for mankind perhaps showed better through this bill than any other.

But our Georgia Senator pioneered in many other fields, including agriculture, conservation and forestry programs. As a young governor he allocated $50,000 from the Governor's Contingency Fund for the operation of a pilot plant type experimental laboratory under the late Dr. Charles Herty to demonstrate that Georgia pine could be used in the manufacture of pulp and paper. Our state's great forestry industry can be directly traced to this study.

He was brilliant, he was kindly and concerned about human beings, and he loved Georgia and the nation of which she is a part.

Richard Brevard Russell was Georgia at its best—the best mind, the best character, the best understanding, the best concern.

We are the gainers because he has served us for so many years. We are the losers now that he is gone.

No other son has served this state so well.

[From the Oregonian, Jan. 23, 1971]

RUSSELL OF GEORGIA

In the biographical section of the Congressional Directory, a place where congressmen are found listing the minutia of their lives, less than a full line of type says no more than "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, Winder, Ga."

Senator Russell was a modest giant among the nation's political leaders. At the time of his death at age 73 he could have listed more accomplishments and honors than most of his colleagues.

This courteous, gentle man, except for the fate of geography, could have been President of the United States, Harry Truman once noted. Sen. Russell joined the Senate in 1933, its youngest member after having served at age 33 as the youngest governor of Georgia. He supported President Roosevelt's New Deal policies and was counted as a liberal, except on the issue of Civil Rights. But once the laws he fought were passed. Russell stood by them.

And he followed the same course on Vietnam. Russell was an early "dove," far earlier than most who oppose the war. He argued bitterly against the Eisenhower policy of sending "advisers" to Southeast Asia, correctly predicting the escalation. But he later became a strong supporter of the war, stating, "When the commander in chief committed our flag and our forces to that unhappy land, he committed me."

The Defense Department had no stronger supporter than the Senate's elder statesman, who as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and earlier Armed Services Committee chairman, time and again backed the military, particularly on questions of hardware, in overriding presidential decisions.

His influence was so great that only hours before he died of emphysema he likely changed the course of history by supporting by proxy Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. It has been reported that Russell's support played a decisive role in Byrd's stunning defeat of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy that ousted him from the party's majority whip post.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD RUSSELL OF GEORGIA

It was said of Richard Brevard Russell—by Harry S Truman some years ago, by Mike Mansfield the other day—that if he had come from another section of the country he would have become President, and perhaps he would. For the Georgia Democrat was a man of remarkable qualities. He had a keen mind—one of the finest in the U.S. Senate, in which he served since 1933. He was an orator of no mean abilities, and he understood politics and power, and he had the stuff of whatever it is that political leadership is made of.

Russell's fatal flaw was not so much that he came from the South but that he was a prisoner of his section, and he could not or would not, break loose. He was on the wrong side of one of the great issues of the times—civil rights. Like other Southerners (but not only Southerners) he waged a delaying action for a lost cause, and he knew it was delaying and he knew it was lost, but he would do no other.

Yet, fighting as he did—tenaciously, bitterly, skillfully—he kept the respect of the most tenacious and bitter and skillful of his opponents, and in other ways he served his country with distinction.

Notwithstanding his well-publicized differences with President Truman, he presided over the MacArthur hearings with consummate fairness. The Senate Armed Services Committee judgment—that, in effect, the President had not only acted responsibly in firing the flamboyant commander but that he could not have acted otherwise—did much to defuse an explosive issue in a heated time.

If one can wish that his posture on civil rights had been different, and reflect that the country might have been saved much grief if it had, one can also wish that his advice on Vietnam had been taken as far back as 1954, when he took a very dim view of our involvement there and a far-sighted view of the consequences.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Jan. 23, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

As long as 35 years ago they were saying in Georgia: "Don't run against Dick Russell unless you're just looking for the publicity."

Richard B. Russell was not as popular, politically, in all the rest of the nation, but he enjoyed a greater honor. He was held in high respect, even by those who sharply disagreed with him.

Russell fought Harry Truman hard on some major issues—civil rights and labor laws, particularly—and he was the South's candidate at the 1948 Democratic National Convention which nominated the Missourian. But Truman called him "one of the ablest men in the Senate."

In the early 1950's, Truman, who had fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur as commander of our forces in the Far East, saw Russell conduct hearings on that highly controversial and explosive action that were a model of

fairness and propriety. Years later, Russell was one of the relatively few Americans in high places who expressed grave doubts about our involvement in another area of the Far East—Vietnam. But when the U.S. became committed there, the Georgian gave his full and loyal support.

Russell was dedicated to the cause of military preparedness, and his influence may have helped spare us a terrible disaster. He was among the first to urge that the U.S. prepare for aggression from Hitler, then marching in Europe. He opposed the arms embargo that was keeping materiel of war from our friends, and he supported enactment of selective service and the adoption of lend-lease. And after the war he backed the Marshall Plan to help rebuild and strengthen Western Europe.

Perhaps Russell's biggest mistake in public life was his attempt to win the presidential nomination in 1952. It was in this unsuccessful campaign that he did something uncharacteristic of Richard Russell, though commonplace among politicians seeking a broad spectrum of support. Contrary to everything he had said and done before, and to the great consternation of his Southern supporters, Russell issued a campaign statement that seemed to favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law and to accept the idea of a Federal Employment Practices Commission. Seldom, though, was Richard Russell guilty of such inconsistency.

It was also in that 1952 campaign that the Georgia senator made this statement:

I believe in states' rights because the principle of dual government is the only thing that supports freedom of local self-government. If it weren't for the doctrine of states' rights, we in Congress today would be passing laws to run your school boards, telling you what kind of city government and county government you must have and how it should be run.

How prophetic was this warning from the eminent Southern, and American, statesman! And what a loss it is to the entire nation that his death removes from the U.S. Senate a man of such vision, character and dedication to fundamental principles on which America was founded.

[From the Rome (Ga.) News-Tribune, Jan. 27, 1971]

Fitting Monument for Dick Russell

Eulogies of the late Sen. Richard B. Russell by his Senate colleagues and other national leaders, including the President, have been gratifying to his family and to all of us in Georgia who recognized his preeminence among men by choosing him for public service for more than a half century.

There will be a proposal in the Senate soon to add his portrait to a select few of the all-time great leaders of that body. This is fitting and compatible with the honor it confers.

There is, however, another concrete and lasting memorial we believe should bear the Russell name. That is the hydroelectric power and flood control dam now under construction on the Coosawattee River in Murray County, Ga.

Senator Russell has been closely associated with this project since its conception more than 10 years ago. Indeed, without his vigorous support it might never have begun. Upon completion, scheduled now in the next year, it will provide a new source of electrical energy to a growing industrial area of the state. Furthermore, it will enhance and open a scenic wilderness region to thousands seeking recreational opportunities.

Of all his characteristics, practicality was one of the foremost in Dick Russell's life. He detested waste and scorned frivolity. We do not believe an enshrined bust or mossy statue would have been his bequest to his people.

But, a device conceived and built by men—to serve men through nature—had his support and deserves his name. Standing tall, spanning a gorge in the North Georgia mountains he loved, it would be an appropriate monument.

We earnestly urge that the Congress and agencies concerned with such matters immediately consider this proposal for a Richard B. Russell Dam.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman, Jan. 23, 1971]

The Immovable Russell

Over the years the irresistible forces of change swept around and over Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. They never moved him. They merely left him behind.

Sen. Russell, who died Thursday at 73, represented the best and the worst in the U.S. Senate. He was a man of imperturbable courage and integrity. As President Truman once said, he had the leadership qualities which might have made him President had he come from another section of the nation than his beloved Georgia.

The dean of the Senate took office along with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and contributed to FDR's coalition of Southern and big-city Northern political leaders. He was a champion of the farmers, encouraging rural electrification, soil conservation and parity. He was a co-sponsor of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the forerunner of the massive federal power dam development which has contributed so much to the economy of the Northwest.

But he was and he remained a dedicated opponent of civil rights legislation. As a solid state's rights man, in an era which was moving towards federal centralism and correction of the injustices of discrimination and segregation, he spent a tremendous amount of his energy in obstruction. He became a master of the filibuster.

In 1964, he staged 83 days of delaying tactics before the Senate finally invoked cloture by a two-thirds majority to shut him off.

As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he championed an ever-expanding budget for the military, while resisting foreign aid appropriations. He encouraged President Johnson to escalate the Vietnam war.

He never married, devoting his entire life to his nation. He was held in such high respect that he was named to the panel to investigate the circumstances surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy.

The tides of change undermined much of what Sen. Russell fought for, but his legacy must not be viewed as obstruction alone. In this diverse nation, even the ideas "whose time has come" cannot prevail without champions willing to follow his example of courage, integrity and dedication.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, Jan. 24, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL FORESAW VIET TRAP

"I told them it was wrong—that I was weary of seeing American soldiers being used as gladiators to be thrown into every arena around the world."

The words are those of the powerful former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Richard B. Russell. He was replying to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles who had just informed him the Eisenhower administration intended aiding the French in Indochina in 1954.

Though he warned that the U.S. would rue the day it sent arms and technicians to help the tottering French, Sen. Russell nevertheless reluctantly pledged his support. "We commit the flag and I will support the flag," he said at the time. "But it is going to be a long, drawnout affair costly in both blood and treasure."

Events have borne out his wisdom on Vietnam, just as they did on so many other matters that came to Sen. Russell's attention during 37 years as senator from Georgia. But he made mistakes, a notable one in 1952 when he sought the Democratic presidential nomination at a time when the South could not hope to furnish a president because of the racial problem. He polled but 292 of the 1,200 convention votes and the nomination went to Adlai Stevenson.

He entered a Senate of almost legendary political giants in 1933. Reed Smoot of Utah had been there 30 years, William E. Borah of Idaho 26 and George Norris of Nebraska 20. He took his place with Hugo L. Black of Alabama, Tom Connally of Texas, Cordell Hull of Tennessee; James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, Alben Barkley of Kentucky. When he died Thursday at 73, Richard B. Russell had equaled them all.

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, Jan. 22, 1971]

WISE VOICE STILLED

The career of Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia offered a compelling argument in favor of the seniority system which confers power on those with the most experience in our Congress. The power Senator Russell gained through nearly 40 years of service in the Senate was never used injudiciously.

As chairman of the Appropriations Committee and earlier as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the senior senator from Georgia exhibited a keen sense of national priorities. As a student of security problems, he insisted on no compromise with safety in providing the nation with adequate defenses.

Senator Russell exhibited an uncompromising loyalty to the parliamentary processes on which our representative government depends. His voice of moderation and wisdom will be sorely missed.

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Evening Press, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

Today the nation mourns Sen. Richard Brevard Russell, a great senator, a great Southerner, a great American.

Long before Sen. Russell was hospitalized for the last time to renew his fight with a persistent illness, he had earned and received every form of accolade from statesmen, government leaders, and people throughout his native South.

The dean of the Senate, one of its most powerful and respected figures, its master parliamentarian, he played in Washington a group of roles which would have appeared contradictory in any other man.

For he was both the South's champion and Southern senator's acknowledged leader in every legislative struggle over a long stream of years and at the same time one of the most non-partisan of lawmakers, courted and consulted by other government leaders including presidents of both parties. He placed his country's interests first in every major crisis and he witnessed many during his career in Washington.

When the most influential senators were discussed, Richard Russell's name was always mentioned, and he affected many of the country's major programs going all the way back to the New Deal. He was especially influential in charting the nation's course in defense, in space, in agriculture, and in foreign policy crises, for when such crisis occurred, presidents from Franklin D. Roosevelt on inevitably sought Dick Russell's advice and his assistance in winning approval for their decisions.

A quiet spoken, courtly man, he employed restraint and reason and parliamentary law, not bombast, to achieve his legislative victories. Respect for his tact and diplomacy and non-partisan acceptance was reflected in his choice for Senate committees and presidential commissions plunging into controversial waters.

Before he went to Washington, he was one of the best governors in Georgia's history as well as the state's youngest ever when he took office in 1931 after 10 years in the legislature. He cut his own salary, reduced the number of state bureaus from 102 to 17, instituted the unified University System and the Board of Regents, and made the state government a businesslike operation.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1933, he began the long career that established his national reputation for honesty, patriotism and dedication to public service. He received 263 votes for the presidential nomination at the Democratic Convention in 1948 and 294 in 1952. One of the things that has been said about him by leaders of both parties is that but for his being a Southerner he would have been president. Had he been president, he would have been a great one, as he was a great governor and a great senator. His death is a grievous loss to Georgia, to the South, and to all Americans.

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News, Jan. 22, 1971]

SEN. RICHARD RUSSELL

The nation may never again see the likes of a Richard Russell. He was not only a senator's senator; he was a people's senator—an honest, dedicated, intelligent leader, who loved his country and yet who would stand fast to his opinions when he thought her policies were wrong.

In old age, a man earns, creates and deserves the face that time has left him. You can read it like a map, following the lines as if they are roads signifying character. It is

no longer a false front. Sen. Russell's face portrayed a rare inner strength, an unbending will that overcame both physical and political pains. It was a face not only of intellect but of the wisdom that is so often missing in intellectuals. It was a face of stubbornness, of righteousness, tough without being hard. It was the visage of a statesman who has witnessed his country go through her most momentous changes since the Civil War.

We can think of no man who has ever dedicated himself so entirely to his country. We can only wonder at the iron will and the idealism that made him devote the good years of his life to public service—only wonder at the stoicism that is so rare today in a time of self and selfishness. He seemed to be a senator left over from another time in his dogged endurance, a Clay, a Calhoun, a Davis. He was as great as any of them, and except for the place of his birth he no doubt would have been president.

Richard Russell, to say it simply, was a great man, with all the contradictions and idiosyncrasies of great men. He was larger than his title, yet thought himself no more than servant of the people—all of the people. We mourn his death. He stands alone.

[From the Smyrna (Ga.) Herald Neighbor, Jan. 28, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL'S HOME PLACE SHOULD BECOME STATE PARK

(By Ben Green Cooper)

In grateful memory of a statesman who gave unselfishly of his best years to his native state, the home of United States Senator Richard Brevard Russell, Jr., at Russell, Ga., near Winder, in Barrow County should be preserved as an historic site, where Americans may pause and visit with the past.

Other famous places in Georgia have been preserved as historic sites, notably the Warm Springs Little White House of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the home of Alexander H. (Little Alec) Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy, Liberty Hall, at Crawfordville, the office of Dr. Crawford W. Long, at Jefferson, where anaesthesia was discovered.

Some of these sites are maintained by the Georgia State Parks Department, others by associations dedicated to the memory of great citizens, and some historic places are kept up by the Federal Government, such as famous forts and battlegrounds, including our local Kennesaw Mountain battlefield park. Other spots mark the existence of inanimate objects of historical importance, such as the new home to be of the Engine General at Kennestone.

Georgia has many parks and preserved historic sites, but too many others have been allowed by time and neglect to pass into oblivion. Cobb County has a number of historic sites associated with great persons, some of which are kept up. Still standing is the Powder Springs Road birthplace of William Gibbs MacAdoo, statesman, on the property of the Johnny Walker family at Macland Road.

Federal Government care resulted in restoration of the Kolb House on Powder Springs Road, a relic of the War Between the States. These things are part of our heritage and serve to remind us of our history and of our great men and events.

The Russell home near Winder not only reminds us of Senator Russell, but of his father, Chief Justice Richard B. Russell of the Georgia Supreme Court, a great Georgian of bygone days who well deserves to be remembered by posterity. Such men are the ones who gave us our traditions of selfless service, public betterment, the upgrading of the common weal, for they worked hard and diligently without thought of private gain, to improve the lot of all of us.

Chief Justice Russell was a magnificent old Georgian whose philosophy was best expressed in his statement, No stream is purer than its source, meaning, that the stream of power in politics must come from the people, its source, and the political stream can be kept free of pollution if its source was pure.

Senator Russell's interest in preserving our heritage was demonstrated by his creation of Russell Park, near the old homesite, as a memorial to his father and mother. It seems fitting and just that the people of Georgia now should take over and carry on the memorial that the Senator began, expanding it to include his own home and its furnishings, to serve as an everlasting reminder of this great Georgia statesman, of whom it has been said time and again that he would have become President of the United States, had he been from another section of the country. But he almost became President by virtue of succession; he was President Pro Tempore of the United States Senate, and as such was only two heart beats from the Presidency. Had the President and the Vice President both died, he would have become President. President Pro Tem is a sort of Assistant Vice President.

We think the Georgia Legislature should move promptly and forthrightly to insure that Senator Russell's home place is preserved as a state park if necessary, or perhaps as the project of a memorial association. The Senator was a modest and plain man, for all of his political importance, and we think he would be touched sincerely were his Georgia home turned into a shrine where Georgians and other visitors might visit and commune with the past.

[From the Southeastern Poultry Times, Jan. 27, 1971]

SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL, A FRIEND OF THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

(By Abit Massey)

Many words will be written and spoken about Richard B. Russell and while mine don't do justice to the subject, I want to add a few.

Any way the action, accomplishments, principles, and life-time of public service of this man tell the story louder and longer than words alone can do. He was a friend of the poultry industry, which will continue to remember his friendship, interest and assistance.

Just a few months ago the Federation prepared a resolution which read as follows: "To Senator Richard B. Russell and his staff—With Grateful appreciation for—Efforts in obtaining the magnificient Research Laboratory in Athens—appropriately named the Richard B. Russell Agricultural Research Center by the U.S. Department of Agriculture—Continued effective service to the poultry industry of Georgia and the nation—Outstanding accom-

plishment for the people of our state and the United States."

Tentative arrangements for presentation of the resolution in November had to be changed following the Senator's fall at his home in Winder. A copy of the Resolution had been mailed to the Senator.

Just about 10 years earlier, Senator Russell attended a Federation Board Meeting in Atlanta and received a resolution of appreciation for his numerous efforts in behalf of the industry.

In accepting the resolution, Senator Russell pointed out that the poultry industry is "vital to the economy of Georgia." He said: "The poultry industry got its start at a time when agriculture was almost dead in Georgia. It has been a Godsend and has saved our State's agricultural economy."

Senator Russell met with industry representatives many times in recent years and talked with Cabinet Members and others on poultry matters. He always was willing to hear our story and to help on poultry industry problems. He sometimes enjoyed kidding the group about what sad stories some of the poultry folks could tell even in good times.

Senator Richard B. Russell was a great Georgian, a great American, and a man who made history from the time he was the youngest Speaker of the House and then the youngest Governor, a record that still stands, until his final day as President Pro-Tem of the United States Senate. The poultry industry benefitted along with Georgia, the Nation and the World.

We join the Nation in mourning the loss of a friend whose stature will grow as the results of his leadership and example continue to touch the lives of every poultryman and every American.

[From the South Fulton Recorder, Fairburn, Ga., Jan. 27, 1971]

GEORGIA MOURNS PASSING OF SENATOR RUSSELL

(By W. B. Jones)

When Senator Richard B. Russell's death was announced from Washington last week many tears were shed in Georgia, and over the entire nation, at the passing of this great man.

It seems that to refer to him as a public servant is not adequate, but in his humility and desire to truly represent the people of Georgia and the Nation as a whole, he was just that in the highest sense of the word.

Senator Russell spent his entire adult life in public service. He was elected to the Georgia Legislature when he was only 23 years old, where his ability was first recognized, and soon he became Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. He then became Governor of Georgia, and on January 12, 1933, he took his seat in the United States Senate as the Junior Senator from Georgia. Even before being sworn in he memorized the rules of the Senate and after a short time he studied Parliamentary Rules under the then Senate Parliamentarian, thus becoming a Master Parliamentarian.

At the time of his death he was President Pro-tem of the Senate, Chairman of the most powerful committee in the Senate, The Senate Committee on Appropriations. For fifteen years prior to his assuming that Chairmanship he was Chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee. To undertake to list his many other important positions would be repetition of what we have seen in the daily papers many times.

As a result of the polls of the nation's leading magazines among Senators and Washington Press Corps, he was consistently selected as the most powerful man in the U.S. Senate. This was the result of his native ability, his dedication to his responsibility and the respect in which he was held.

It is our feeling that he was the most powerful and responsible Senator ever to sit in the United States Senate, even above Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun and L. Q. C. Lamar, and others, if for no other reason than the fact that this country was much larger during Senator Russell's tenure in the Senate and consequently had more responsibility and more vital decisions to make than was the case one hundred years ago.

At the time of his death he was the Dean of the Senate, having served for thirty-eight years, and was outranked in tenure by only one other Senator, former Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona.

There has never been a representative of the people in the national law-making body who felt his responsibility more seriously, or respected the confidence of his people (Georgians), than did Dick Russell.

Richard B. Russell was loved by the people of Georgia and the nation, and everyone, friend and foe alike, feels a distinct loss in his passing. It has been said that no man is indispensable, but we do not believe that his shoes can ever be filled. He was just an exceptional man who was fully cognizant of his duties and responsibilities and fulfilled them to the satisfaction of his constituency. There will always be a vacant chair in the United States Senate.

Georgia, and indeed the nation, has lost its ablest and most respected public official.

[From the Southside Neighbor, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 28, 1971]

FITTING FAREWELL

He served his people well.

In a lifetime of accomplishment, Richard Brevard Russell received countless expressions of tribute and esteem. None, we think, meant more to him than the knowledge that he served his constituents faithfully and ably through more than 50 years in public office, almost 40 of them in the United States Senate.

More than once he said: "I have been elected to represent and work for Georgia's interest in Washington—and not Washington's interest in Georgia."

That was the creed he preached, and that was the creed he pursued. From the time he was elected to the Georgia House at the age of 22 to his days as president pro tem of the greatest deliberative body in the world.

Richard Russell never forgot the people who elected him to office.

And the people who elected him never had a spokesman of greater integrity, wisdom, energy or astuteness than the man from Winder.

After a brief but fruitful tenure in state government, he went on to Washington to shape the most productive career any Georgian has ever fashioned in the halls of Congress.

In the process, of course, he became much more than an eminent Georgian. He emerged as one of the great Americans of the 20th Century, a councelor of six presidents, possessor of the most influential voice in the United States Senate, participant in most of the great decisions of the past 20 years in Washington.

But Georgia and Georgians remained his first love and devotion to the end.

Though his body could have lain in state in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, an honor accorded few men, Sen. Russell directed before his death that his body be returned to Georgia for any public service.

So it was that the Senator lay in state in the Georgia Capitol rotunda, where he first endeared himself to Georgians and where they came to pay their last respects.

It was a fitting farewell for the senator from Georgia, a man who served his people well.

[From the Summerville (Ga.) News, Jan. 28, 1971]

Senator Richard B. Russell

We pause to shed a tear as we record the passing of Richard Brevard Russell in Washington last week.

Senator Russell's record of service will long be remembered by his fellow Georgians and by Americans in all walks of life. His courage, character, and devotion to duty will ever remain a monument to this great man.

Richard Russell served his native state as a legislator, speaker of the House of Representatives, and as the youngest governor in Georgia's history. He later served his state and his nation in some of the highest echelons of federal government.

President Richard Nixon led the nation in mourning the death of Georgia's senior senator, praising him as "a rare blend of courage, character, vision, and ability that moved him indisputedly into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate."

It is a fallacy of our times that but for having been born a Southerner, Dick Russell would probably have been president. Perhaps he found some measure of comfort in that six presidents sought his counsel and leaned heavily on him in time of need.

Shortly before his death, Senator Russell had completed his thirty-eighth year in the U.S. Senate. From his hospital bed a few days before his death, he issued a statement in which he thanked Georgians "for permitting me to serve at the very hub of our national life during the most exciting era in human history."

Although Dick Russell was a product of Georgia and the South, the respect shown to him through the years transcended state and regional lines. He was loved by all Americans.

We bid a solemn farewell to one of the greatest statesmen our nation has produced.

[From the Swainsboro (Ga.) Forest Blade, Jan. 28, 1971]

Writer Recalls Meeting Russell

(By C. L. Pritchard)

An honored Georgian, United States Senator Richard Brevard Russell Jr., died Friday. A Winder native, his body was returned to the state capitol building in Atlanta and lay in State there for a 24-hour period.

During the depression years about the mid thirties, I and several more from Johnson County, as well as Emanuel and Candler went to Metter one day to hear him make a speech. It was a hot summer day.

A very large crowd of voters assembled to hear him. All was quiet and all gave him their undivided attention.

When he had finished, he said "all present who endorse what he had said, he wanted to shake his hands". I as well as hundreds of others gave him a hearty hand shake.

He was elected and made us a good man until his recent death in Walter Reed Army Hospital.

[From the Sylvania (Ga.) Telephone, Jan. 29, 1971]

Richard B. Russell, Jr.

The most distinguished public servant Georgia has had in our times was buried in Winder Sunday. When you recall that Richard B. Russell had been building his career for fifty years, it seems unlikely that we will be around to see another man represent our state in so influential a manner.

The first time Dick Russell ran for public office, he didn't really expect to win. But he was elected to serve in the state house of representatives from Barrow County—and he has been winning ever since. His only real defeat came when he aimed highest, seeking the Democratic presidential nomination.

Russell was just 23 years old when he won that first race for the Georgia House in 1921. Born Nov. 2, 1897, the sixth child and first son of Ina Dillard Russell and Richard Brevard Russell Sr., he had earned a law degree, served briefly in the Navy in World War I, and settled down to practice law in Winder.

He served ten years in the Georgia House, four of them as Speaker Pro Tem and four more as Speaker, a big job he won when he was only 29. In 1930, Russell borrowed $1000 for campaign expenses and entered the race for Governor.

His opponents were John Holder, who had run twice before; George Carswell, incumbent secretary of state; James A. Perry, incumbent chairman of the Public Service Commission, and E. D. Rivers, who was later to be elected Governor.

Russell was first in the primary and beat Carswell in the run-off. He spent a total of $4000, about what a

present-day candidate would spend for one TV commercial.

Taking office during the Great Depression, he took the oath from his father, the chief justice, cut his own salary, and trimmed the state departments and boards down from 102 to 20.

During his term, Senator William J. Harris died. Russell appointed John Cohen, editor of the Atlanta Journal, as interim Senator and then ran for the position in 1932. He was elected, and spent the rest of his life in the Senate.

In 1936, running for his first full six-year term, he faced his most serious challenge. However, he defeated Eugene Talmadge in a campaign in which the "Three R's" were victors—Roosevelt, Russell, and Rivers.

Through the years, he rose to a position of great power and influence in the Senate, particularly in the field of military affairs.

The first trouble with his health came in mid-1950's when emphysema first began to slow him down. He continued a tough work schedule for another decade, until he was severely stricken in 1965. He recovered, and in 1966 faced another challenge from Governor Carl Sanders. Sanders considered the polls and decided not to run.

When he died last week at 73, Richard B. Russell, Jr. had spent more than half his life in the Senate. It was a life for which all Georgians have reason to be grateful.

DR. NEWTON'S TRIBUTE

A native of Screven County, Dr. Louie Newton, was called on to pay tribute to Senator Russell as his body was placed in state in the rotunda of the capitol last Friday. Dr. Newton, now retired after serving as pastor of Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta for more than thirty years, spoke of Senator Russell as follows:

"Three score years ago, and ten plus three, a baby's cry was heard in Winder.

"Twenty-four hours ago, that voice was hushed in death's last sleep as the winter sun shone softly on the Nation's dome. And now we stand in reverent tribute as the weary body of Georgia's most distinguished son reposes for a last visit beneath her gold-swathed dome, encircled by portrait faces of yesteryears and countless Georgians from the mountains to the sea.

"Another twenty-four hours, and these mortal remains will be gently borne to the hearthstone in the big white house where the baby's voice was quieted in blessed sleep by his beloved mother's lullabies and the whispered prayers of his illustrious father.

"Another twenty-four hours, and the long lines of the nearest and dearest, flanked by Georgia's and the Nation's tallest leaders, and the State's great host of admiring friends of every creed and race, every profession and trade, every county and community, will walk softly to the waiting grave.

"Then shall the dust return to the earth,
And the spirit unto God who gave it."

for

"But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

"Thus shall be engraved on tablets of human affection and appreciation the saga of Richard Brevard Russell, Jr.—Georgia's Man to Remember, gratefully.

"And from the Savannah to the Chattahoochee, from the cedars to the cypress, from sunset to the evening star, uttered and silent prayers will ascend from broken hearts, praising and thanking God for the good, great man, who "did justly, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his Lord." Farewell, good and cherished friend—statesman, patriot and prophet. Let us pray."

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Jan. 22, 1971]

He Served His Nation

Richard Brevard Russell will be remembered by some as the chief spokesman for the South on civil rights legislation. Actually his position as a Southern strategist was but a minor role in his Senate service.

Russell, who died yesterday at 73, was one of this century's great Senate leaders. Few Senators have gained and held the respect of his colleagues as he did.

Russell tried twice for the Presidency and his bid was denied both times because he was a Southerner.

Congress and the nation will miss this man of decency who used his skills not for himself or the South but for the United States.

[From the Thomaston (Ga.) Free Press, Jan. 25, 1971]

Rather be a Georgian Than President

Senator Richard B. Russell had rather been a Georgian and a Southerner than to have been president.

We believe that sincerely and it seems to us the greatest tribute that can be paid this truly great American.

President Harry Truman was the first to say that "I believe that if Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been president of the United States."

Senator Russell, with his seniority in the Senate and his outstanding record of public service, could well have moved his residency to one of those states and been elected to the Senate and ultimately to the presidency. (This is what Robert Kennedy did and with the same goal.)

But Richard Brevard Russell was a Georgia-born, Georgia-bred American so proud of that fact that he had rather enjoy this rich heritage than to have been president of the United States.

A CLOSE TIE TO UPSON

Senator Richard B. Russell knew Upson County, loved Thomastonians and Upsonians and felt a sense of loyalty to them for making his last Senate race one without opposition.

Carl Sanders was openly running for the U.S. Senate to oppose Senator Russell in 1965.

The Free Press and Thomaston Times conducted a comprehensive survey.

People in this community were contacted by the hundreds in a survey without bias or without prior publicity.

And it turned out 85 percent favoring Senator Russell and 15 percent favoring Carl Sanders.

Simultaneous to our survey here, WSB radio in Atlanta conducted an exact duplicate of our survey although neither knew of the other. The Atlanta survey turned out within one percentage point of being the same as the Thomaston and Upson survey.

We have been told enough to believe it, that the two surveys, more than anything else, discouraged Sanders from opposing Senator Russell having a totally honest appraisal of both the rural and urban voters on the subject.

How much Senator Russell believed in this can only be told in the fact that in 1966 he came to Georgia for two events—one was the Chamber of Commerce banquet for Thomaston and Upson County where he delivered the last major address he made in Georgia. The other was to receive the WSB "Great American" award.

Upsonians who voted in that poll and all those who thought like those who voted in the poll may share in Senator Russell's gratefulness that he did not have to make a hard race for re-election to the term he was serving at the time of his death.

We're proud of the part this community played in that event because we truly believe that his life was lengthened with energy conserved from a race not run.

HE GOT THE DAMS

The Flint River dam complex is an assured certainty because of Senator Richard B. Russell.

Congressman John J. Flynt, Jr., who has worked just as hard and as efficiently in bringing the matter up to a point of readiness, is the first to say "Dick Russell did it."

Recall the details.

Blocked by down-river interest at funding during a Democratic administration, the project then bogged down under the Republicans.

No Democrat of less influence than Senator Russell could have obtained the "line item" appropriations under a Republican administration.

Senator Russell put the Spewrell Bluff appropriation into the budget after it was passed by the House without it.

And with respect for Senator Russell and for Congressman Flynt, who is on the House Appropriations Committee, the item remained and that nailed down the Flint River dams.

"I want it fully understood that Senator Russell deserves the credit for this," Congressman Flynt said at the time and called Georgia to say again after Senator Russell died Thursday.

The local committee which has worked for nearly ten years on the Flint River development always was warmly received in Washington by Senator Russell and, more important, got the support sought for the project.

There is no disagreement in the fact, then, that the present state of development and the certainty of the future of this project is a credit to the work and influence that came from Senator Russell.

[From the Thomasville (Ga.) Times-Enterprise, Jan. 22, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL NOW SLEEPS WITH THE WORLD'S GREAT

Richard Brevard Russell, 73, Georgia Senator, and one of the nation's most distinguished leaders, has now joined the cavalcade of The Great in that bourne from which no traveller ever returns.

The vigil of several weeks ended early Thursday afternoon, when his soul took leave of its mortal body which had been wracked with pain and discomfort in breathing.

His death came on the day when the 92nd Congress was assembling for what promises to be one of the most important and historic of all the gatherings of the nation's leaders since the Constitutional government of the United States was established nearly 200 years ago.

Many columns of space in the newspapers and magazines and other publications will be devoted to extolling the record of his deeds in a career of over 35 years as a member of the Senate, in which he was generally recognized as its greatest parliamentarian and an orator of exceptional ability and eloquence. Many eulogies will be said and news commentators will pay their tributes.

The death of Dick Russell, as he was familiarly known to all Georgians and to millions of others in the U.S. and in foreign countries, removes one of the most powerful, yet most humble men who ever sat in the Senate chamber.

As chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate for many years and then as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he was in position to exert tremendous influences in national and international affairs, but he never abused this power nor used it for his own personal gain or advantage.

He was responsible for many federal installations and agencies being located in Georgia, and in Thomasville the Finney General Hospital was the result of his help to this community. It is now the Southwestern Hospital.

Russell, as a leader of the Southern bloc and of conservatives in the Senate often dared to differ with Senate liberals and with the Presidents then in office. And while he disagreed with them and in debate and filibuster moves was aligned on the opposite side, he was nevertheless able to earn and maintain the respect and admiration of his colleagues, both Republicans and Democrats.

He often found himself in disagreement with the policies of former Presidents Lyndon Johnson, Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy as members of his own party and with President Eisenhower and others, but he commanded their respect and he was recognized as one always fair and considerate.

In his passing, Georgia and the entire nation have lost a dependable friend, at a time when men of his breed and vision and courage are hard to find. Many will utter a silent prayer in his behalf, and all will say "Peace to his ashes."

[From the Toccoa (Ga.) Record, Jan. 28, 1971]

ONE OF SOUTH'S AND NATION'S GREATEST CITIZENS PASSES AFTER LONG ILLNESS

(By Robert W. Graves, Sr.)

Georgia and the entire nation mourns over the death of a great leader, Richard B. Russell, who died in Walter Reed Army Hospital last Thursday afternoon after a lingering illness, at age 73. Senator Russell had first served his state as Governor, after which he became U.S. Senator, serving in that capacity for 38 years.

Senator Russell put up a desperate fight for life, after battling with chronic emphysema, from which he had suffered for a long time. The recurring infection caused him to be hospitalized since the early part of December. He was planning to join his colleagues at the opening session of the 92nd Congress.

The Senator's passing came as a distinct shock to the entire nation, although his death was not unexpected because of the seriousness of his condition. Every honor possible has been accorded the man who deserved and received the praise from people in all walks of life. He was truly a great and noble gentleman.

President Nixon looked upon the famous Georgian as a close friend. The Chief Executive felt so deeply about this friend that he placed his personal plane at the disposal of the Senator's family in returning the body to Atlanta and Winder. Great multitudes of citizens paid a final tribute to the fallen statesman, when almost endless lines of humanity passed before the casket in the State Capitol, day and night, and at the Winder residence.

Senator Russell had served with distinction as head of the powerful Armed Services Committee, and his thinking and opinions on matters of state were sought after by the several U.S. Presidents with whom he had served.

No Georgian has ever passed who had a greater following, and he will be missed by people in all walks of life.

[From the Tulsa (Okla.) World, Jan. 22, 1971]

SENATE LOSES LEADER

The passing of Richard B. Russell of Georgia removes from the national and world scene a true and practicing statesman. Not many in the United States Senate are worthy of carrying that title.

Through a steady pace of hard work and little play, Senator Russell rose to eminence as the real force in the Senate. A leader of the powerful Armed Services Committee in possibly the most perilous period in the nation's history, and as ex-officio adviser to dozens of younger colleagues on other committees, he was a legitimate dean and mentor.

We have often listened to the late Sen. Robert S. Kerr praise the talents and judgement of the venerable Georgian. The nature of his position in military affairs made him personally strong; but it was a strength he exercised wisely and judiciously. As one of his closest associates remarked, "You never heard much about Dick Russell, but he was there and everybody knew it."

More than a trillion dollars in military appropriations went under Russell's conservative eye—more than any legislator in world history has ever screened. While this is no cause for ringing bells, it is a reflection of the tremendous influence and sweep one man has had in his lifetime.

His death further erodes what has become known as the "Southern conservative bloc" in the Capital. Yet, he was never cited as one of its front line warriors. Russell much preferred the background; as a bachelor, he was not among the social whirlers in the nation's capital. He was a trusted adviser to Presidents of both parties, as well as a valued confidant to the majority of his Senate peers,

Russell was, it might fairly be summed up, a man who did his job and did it well. Congress needs more men like him.

[From the University of Georgia Red and Black, Jan. 26, 1971]

SEN. RUSSELL'S LEGACY

The late Sen. Richard B. Russell was out of tune with many of the causes and aspirations that motivate many college youth today, and the temptation is to let that lack of rapport diminish one's sense of his greatness.

Russell will be remembered particularly as a leader of Southern senators' opposition to civil rights bills, and as a congressional advocate of a strong military. Was he, then, insensitive to human injustices and otherwise more concerned with materialistic than with humanistic causes?

We think not. Russell said he was genuinely concerned with federal encroachment on states' rights. He said he did not want weapons to use in a war, but to deter one. He was against getting into Vietnam, but he said once we got in, we had commitments that had to be kept.

The fact that Russell was a highly respected and powerful senator on whom six Presidents called for advice suggests that he figured importantly and valuably in many government actions for which he did not receive recognition.

And he contributed a great deal to the state of Georgia—and particularly to the University. This institution has more federal employees working on research projects today than it had students 50 years ago. There are more than half a dozen major federal laboratories on campus (one of which, the Richard B. Russell Agricultural Research Center, is named for the senator). Russell had a large part in bringing these federal projects to campus, and, in addition, he maintained an active interest in the institution as an alumnus. Some 40 years ago, when he was governor of Georgia, he put all the state colleges, including the University, under one Board of Regents—thus making the operation of the entire University System more efficient and unified.

We can thank him, then, for looking after the interests of his constituents. But that is not all. Russell was acclaimed as an honorable, conscienctious, patriotic and humble man.

"He taught through example," Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi said in eulogizing Russell Sunday. "He has left to the youth of our nation both a challenge and a pattern of conduct for citizenship and public life. I hold

forth the qualities he followed as a legacy . . . a gift to the youth of our nation.

"What can the youth of today find here to emulate? A course of conduct that inspires confidence; dedication; noble purposes; standards in public and private life unexcelled; a willingness to serve; a willingness to lead and endlessly carry the penalty of leadership; and above all else, the attainment of being an honorable man."

Some of Richard Russell's ideas on contemporary issues seem out of date. But his standards of personal conduct are the kind that should be appreciated by the idealists of any era. Let us hope that disagreements with his policies will not blind us to those most basic qualities of goodness. He was a great man and a distinguished alumnus of the University.

[From the Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times, Jan. 22, 1971]

Our Debt to Sen. Russell

Shortly after the end of the Korean War, the handwriting was on the wall: the Air Force no longer had a need for Moody Air Force Base here. It would be closed within a short time.

During those years in the middle 1950s our community was rife with rumor that the base would be closed. The thought brought pessimism that hung over our town like smog. The closing of Moody Air Force Base would have been a severe economic blow to the area.

Some of our business leaders, however, thought something could be done to prove to the Air Force that Moody should be maintained. An all-out effort was organized within the Chamber of Commerce to try and save the base.

Delegations were sent to Washington to confer with Air Force officials, our congressman, but most of all with Sen. Richard Russell. There had been almost no contact from here with Georgia's senior senator.

When the first delegation went to Washington, they didn't know what kind of reception they would get from Sen. Russell. At that time Sen. Russell was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the South Georgians felt he was the man who could help them if anyone could.

It wasn't long before they found that Richard Russell was their friend. Those contacts with Sen. Russell started a close relationship.

The fact that Moody AFB wasn't closed and the fact the Air Force continues to improve the facilities there is testimony to the untiring efforts of Sen. Russell to help his friends from deep South Georgia.

All in this area are indebted to Sen. Russell for being our friend and coming to our aid on this specific project. We are more indebted to him, though, for his great service to our state and nation in 38 years in the U.S. Senate.

When Richard Brevard Russell died Thursday we lost a close friend, the state lost an outstanding senator and the nation lost a great statesman. He was an American with an unqualified patriotic zeal for his country. He was a Southerner with a reverent respect for his heritage which always tempered his thinking and actions.

We've lost a friend. We mourn his passing. But most of all we revere his memory because this was a great and powerful man who never forgot his friends.

[From the Walker County (Ga.) Messenger, Jan. 27, 1971]

Sen. Richard B. Russell

"When the security of the United States was the issue, six American presidents leaned upon this great man. The nation whose security was his constant concern for four decades in the upper chamber will ever be in his debt."

So said the President of the United States last week shortly after the death of Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

Sen. Russell was perhaps the most powerful man in the halls of Congress, yet he maintained throughout his long service a simple, courteous demeanor.

He had rare courage, a steadfast character and vision. While giving his undivided attention to his job, he was known as a strong force internationally, yet always remained close to the people of Georgia and the problems.

He was, in short, a great man and a great senator.

He will be sorely missed by all of us, and his nation will suffer for want of his advice, his experience and his foresight.

[From the Walton County (Ga.) Tribune, Jan. 27, 1971]

Senator Russell

Countless eulogies have been spoken and written about Senator Richard B. Russell, native of Winder and neighbor to Walton County. Little has been unsaid about this great man. We fully subscribe in the tributes to his greatness and usefulness as a public citizen.

We will quote one comment which we particularly like from Senator Herman Talmadge:

"One of the greatest statesmen of our time has fallen. Senator Russell was literally a legend in his own time. I know of no other member of the United States Senate throughout all the history of America who served his nation with greater distinction. He will be enshrined in history along with giants of the U.S. Senate such as Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, and other Americans of great stature."

Memoirs . . . Senator Russell

A few years following the conclusion of World War II, Arthur Mobley, Jr., became associated in business with another member of Monroe's old Battery "B", 214th Coast Artillery, your present editor. Mr. Mobley filled the position of associate editor of the Walton Tribune capably for a number of years before resigning to enter the insurance field.

During his tenure at The Tribune, Mr. Mobley wrote a highly popular personal column. We reprint his column which appeared in this newspaper on March 19, 1952.

Sen. Dick Russell's announced plan to seek the Demo-

cratic nomination for President calls to mind a very pleasant encounter I had with him during World War II.

It was 1943 and our forces in the Pacific had just launched an all-out attack against the Japanese which ultimately was to drive them from the sea. But in those horrible days the war's outcome was not then known and back home people everyhere were asking each other "how much longer will it last?"

To find out if possible the answer to this and other questions a group of United States senators and representatives left Washington by plane and over a period of some two months covered the Pacific war fronts from one end to the other. This junket and others which followed to Europe and elsewhere drew sharp criticism from some sources. Whether the trips were worth the cost to taxpayers is not for me to say. But this I know: It gave me a terrific boost the day I picked up a Honolulu newspaper and read that Dick Russell had arrived at Hickam Field the day before. Although I had never met the senator—had in fact seen him but once in my life and that was here when he spoke at the courthouse years ago—I instinctively felt that a good friend from Monroe was in Hawaii.

Obviously the thing for me to do was get a pass and go to see him. Of course it occurred to me that Sen. Russell would be tied up with other matters and far too busy for me to gain an audience but I quickly put the thought out of mind. I figured if this was the case he would not hesitate to say so. At any rate I was determined to make the effort.

The next day I was up bright and early and two hours later stood before the desk clerk at the Moana Hotel asking him timidly what was the number of Senator Russell's room. He told me but with misgivings—my absence of rank apparently raising some sort of question in his mind.

I used the house phone and pretty soon the senator's slow-spoken "hello" greeted my ears. I told him who I was and he said sure he knew me and to come on up. Actually Sen. Russell didn't know me from the side of a barn but during his term as governor he had known my Uncle Albert, who was superintendent of banks, and that helped. He also seemed to know everybody in Monroe so we got along fine. I got the impression quick that he thought highly of Morris Kelly because he talked at length about him and his ability as a lawyer.

After awhile the telephone rang. The senator answered, spoke for a minute or two and hung up. A moment later it rang again and thereafter rang at regular intervals every few minutes. It was impossible to talk. Finally he picked up the phone and told the desk clerk that he was busy and didn't want to be disturbed until further notice.

He turned to me, smiled and said: "Now we can talk."

For the first time I noticed his clothes. He was wearing a blue, double breasted suit. It didn't fit him too well and the britches were without cuffs. I think he caught me looking at those pants because he laughed and explained that nowadays cuffs were missing from all stateside suits.

Then for the next hour and a half Sen. Russell talked and I listened. He talked about Winder and Monroe and Georgia's football team. And the barbecues in Walton and Barrow that he had attended in years gone by.

While he reminisced in his calm, deliberate way I thought to myself—here sits one of America's most distinguished men talking to me, an enlisted man, about the little things of life. About shooting doves and fishing and Georgia's chances of going through the season undefeated.

Someone has said that nearly everybody's path sooner or later crosses that of a President of the United States or one who will be eventually. I guess this means that you either hear him speak somewhere or you shake his hand or maybe just glimpse him from a distance.

I like to think that perhaps this was the day it happened to me.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 22, 1971]

A Giant in the Senate

It bespoke the dignified simplicity of the late Senator Russell that his biographical sketch in the Congressional Directory consisted of just one line: "Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Georgia." He was not a man to flaunt himself.

But relatively few men have held the power that was wielded by this gentleman from the north Georgia hills, who was both modest and magisterial, and who died yesterday at the age of 73. Senatorial politics through history has been the South's highest art, and none from the region has surpassed Richard B. Russell as a practitioner of it.

For many years he was the leader of the Southern bloc, and no one ever has organized and led it more forcefully and effectively. And he gained respect beyond the South, twice receiving much more than token support for the Democratic nomination for President at national conventions. It is possible, as President Truman once said, that he might have won the highest office in the Forties or Fifties had he not been a Southerner, for he was a man of keen mind and marvelous energy.

But a Southerner he was, and not only that, but "Mr. Southerner." He was the general in the last great battles for the Lost Cause, a peerless master of parliamentary tactics, and when the civil rights bills finally rolled over his contingent he was deeply melancholy. We disagreed with him on those questions, but respected his iron integrity. He had a rigid view of states rights that was classical in the Old South, and he would not bend. But he believed in law, and when the civil rights bills became law he counseled obedience. There were less responsible men to whom the South might have rallied if Senator Russell had not been at the helm. Like the patricians of old, in whose mold he was cast, he took defeat gracefully and did not gloat in victory.

He knew victory, too, and made important contributions to his nation and state. Chairing pivotal committees, he was a champion of national preparedness, and, in earlier days, of such programs as rural electrification. He lived to be dean of the Senate and, as former President Johnson said, "a giant among his colleagues." And he was one of the last of the courtly order of Southern statesmen who have lived by a stern code of duty and honor. His death reminds of the passing of an age.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

It was several years ago. The young freshman senator who was paying his courtesy calls on the hierarchs of the Senate believed he had found the perfect line of reasoning to quash any reservations the senior senator from Georgia might have about his election to the Senate at so tender and untried an age. So sitting there in Senator Russell's imposing office, he observed that it was heartening to him to reflect upon the fact that so august a leader as Senator Russell had *himself* first come to the Senate at just about the same age—was that not true? To which Senator Russell—entertained but hardly vanquished by the ploy—replied with a smile, "Yes, it is true. But of course by then I'd already been governor."

It is hard to recall now the sheer span of time and social change that marked the public career of Richard Brevard Russell who died yesterday at the age of 73. And for those who prefer their politics simple and clean—in the manner of a true-or-false exam—it may also prove inconvenient. For to contemplate that career is to face up to its ambiguities and evident contradictions, to acknowledge that a man can be a great public servant and yet have devoted a considerable part of his official life to the promotion of policies and views one finds reprehensible. It is also to acknowledge inconsistency and change, taking account of a host of conflicting impulses and actions. For Senator Russell, a man who had become emblematic to many of resistance to racial justice and nothing more, began his public career and pursued it for many long years as an ardent New Dealer, a champion of the poor and an economic reformer. And there was a time too—quite a stretch of it, in fact, before the present critics got their bearings or their nerve—when Senator Russell, for all his nearness to the military, functioned as its principal taskmaster and watchdog in Congress, scrutinizing its budgets, calling it to account, and expressing misgiving at some of its pretensions and plans.

Certainly, he did none of this in the style of Congress today. But it is well to remember that Senator Russell, as a skeptic concerning the wisdom of our Southeast Asia involvement, was there before practically anyone else. And although he was basically sympathetic to the military, he was also capable of great detachment and objectivity in relation to it. It was Richard Russell, no enthusiast of Harry Truman, who conducted the hearings on the recall of General MacArthur—hearings which are generally regarded as a model of fairness and honest inquiry, and which are pretty universally credited too with having brought under control the explosive domestic situation that prevailed upon the recall of the popular general by the then unpopular President.

Inevitably, all this may seem small beer in the radically altered environment of our time. For there has been kaleidoscopic social, racial and political change over the span of Richard Russell's career, much of it in reaction to old policies and blind assumptions in which he partook, so that he became at once the agent and the victim of a large part of the change he deplored. "The times have passed me by"—and it was a favored formulation of his later years, less a complaint than a candid acknowledgment of fact, and it was made especially in relation to the Democratic Party, once—in his aggressive, reforming years—the wellspring of his political life, now a source of bafflement to him.

On his death it might be appropriate to observe that in one sense the times passed Richard Russell by not just as a potential national leader, but also as an archetypal villain for liberaldom. For it is a consequence of our changed consciousness that we, as a political community, now recognize the degree to which racial prejudices and costly foreign policy assumptions for which men like Senator Russell have been ritually castigated, were and are part of the mindset of the populace as a whole—including many of those liberal reformers now trying to set them straight. So a degree of humility might be in order on the occasion of Richard Russell's death. It allows one to contemplate his virtues and achievements, not his faults, and they—the former—were both considerable and very real.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 25, 1971]

THE OLD SOUTH . . . SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL: "A STUDY IN DIVISION"

(By Eugene C. Patterson)

The telephone rang on Christmas Eve, 1964, and from the old-fashioned house sitting on cotton land outside Winder, Ga., came the soft, formal voice of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell, chairman of the United States Senate Armed Services Committee.

"I see you have just been in Vietnam," he said, "and I would like to get your impression of the situation out there. But first, let me tell you my impression which I am inclined to give to my friend, who called me from the ranch this afternoon.

"He said they have just blown up the Brink's officers quarters in Saigon, and on top of that the South Vietnamese government seems to be trying to declare Max Taylor persona non grata. I am inclined to tell the President when I call him back that if I were President I would sail the Seventh Fleet up the Saigon River, load those 23,000 Americans aboard and bring them home."

That private insight never surfaced in the public record after the Vietcong struck Pleiku. "Where the flag is committed, I am committed," Senator Russell announced, and he held to that until he died on Thursday.

To us Georgians, Senator Russell was as distant and contradictory a figure as he seemed to some in the Senate. Few of the homefolks called him Dick, though his early campaign posters affected that familiarity. He called people by their full names and they were not comfortable if they intruded beyond his own formality. Perhaps this untouchable courtliness, this robe of reticence within which he kept his counsel, contributed to the breaking of an engagement to be married.

Who can know? Few men now living even know that once in the 1930s the rising young politician asked a girl to marry him and bring warmth into the lifetime that he spent instead in a cold bachelor's room in Washington.

The late Ralph McGill declined to print, in his and the senator's lifetimes, the story that he and a few other Georgians knew. Richard B. Russell had fallen in love.

proposed, and been accepted. The engagement announcement had been brought to McGill at The Atlanta Constitution for Sunday publication despite the opposition of some political advisers who thought the bride's Roman Catholicism would hurt Russell's elective career in Georgia.

Then at the last moment, when the announcement had been set in type, McGill said Russell hurriedly asked him to withdraw it. The editor barely managed to do so before the presses turned. McGill was never sure why the engagement was broken. Senator Russell lived out his life in gentlemanly silence, alone.

A wealthy Atlanta Catholic, Hughes Spalding, was one of the senator's principal supporters in his re-election race against Gene Talmadge in 1936. And with one splendid stroke, Russell demolished a campaign effort to use that religious connection against him. He had taken the stump at a rural rally when Talmadge supporters suddenly scattered handbills through the crowd calling attention to Russell's political friendship with a communicant of the Catholic faith.

One of the handbills was brought to Russell on the platform and he addressed the issue directly. "My friends," he said, waving the pamphlet, "I see here that they are attacking a good friend of mine because of the church he goes to. Well, I want to tell you and the people of Georgia where I stand on that:

"I have never yet seen a man who's got enough religion to hurt him!"

The good ole boys whooped. The issue was laughed out of the campaign. Snapping his red galluses, Talmadge turned instead to attacking Russell as a "rubber stamp of the Washington bureaucrats." The Roosevelt handouts that Russell supported had to be stopped, Talmadge cried, or "you won't be able to hire a plow hand, a hoe hand, washwoman or cook, because they'll all be living on pensions."

But Richard B. Russell, unashamed New Dealer, had a flamboyance of his own in 1936. He replied to Talmadge by mounting the platform with a hammer in his hand and standing behind a plank in which several tenpenny nails had been started.

"I'm going to nail their lies," he would announce to the cheering crowds, and one by one, as he smote an enemy claim, he drove a nail into the plank, "hammering home the truth." He thrashed Gene Talmadge and never again faced serious opposition for the Senate.

Russell's fellow reformers in the days of hard times, like The Constitution's McGill, watched dismayed in the later decades as the albatross of Southern politicians weighed down his national promise. Russell was never a racial demagogue of the stripe that pandered from the stump to the freckle-bellies. But his speeches after the 1954 Supreme Court decision and his generalship of Southern resistance in the Senate were no less hurtful, and maybe more so, for the stateliness of their delivery. Georgia moderates who could not fail to respect his capacity came to despair at his unyielding intolerance of racial change, legislated or decreed. Vulgar racists could be met and whipped. But a strong man with the wrong idea was formidable.

"I still can't dislike him the way I dislike some of these other Southern birds who're after the votes," Ralph McGill once mused. "He's a Bourbon, still up there on the veranda. He really *believes* in slavery."

Russell himself kept a certain detachment about times and people he couldn't understand. After leading a filibuster against a civil rights bill while his friend Lyndon Johnson was President, he commented privately:

"President Johnson has the widest tolerancy of any man I've ever known. If I'd been him during this filibuster, I'd have cut my throat a thousand times by now."

The Kennedys came to power when Russell and Rep. Carl Vinson were still able to reduce congressional military affairs to a "whispered conversation between Georgians." Senator Russell appraised John, Robert and Edward Kennedy in his own way.

President John F. Kennedy had "the most charm," he said, but he faulted him as a senator who hadn't been very interested in his duties. He found Robert F. Kennedy's concepts of the uses of power "alarming."

"Young Edward is the best politician of the three," he judged. He displayed a considerable fondness for Ted. When the freshman senator found himself thrust into the chore of presiding over the Senate in his early days, few knew that Senator Russell was staying in his own chair for long periods because he was sending up quiet notes to Senator Kennedy on how to proceed. He asked a reporter who learned about this not to write it then because he did not want to "embarrass" the liberal from Massachusetts.

In a sense it was characteristic that Senator Russell released his deathbed proxy to help dump Ted Kennedy as Democratic Whip.

His life and his perceptions were a study in division. Those of us who fought his racial views on the home ground felt he needlessly withheld a hand from a state in need, given his secure political position. Yet apart from his intractable stands that hindered Georgia's transition, Richard B. Russell had always within himself that other part, the separate surface of rectitude, honor and fair intent which every man needs if he is to be elevated above his liabilities. In Georgia, as in the Senate, the qualities were sensed and valued.

[From the Waycross (Ga.) Journal-Herald, Jan. 23, 1971]

A Statesman Passes

Few statesmen of our time have loomed so large as Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

He might have been President of the United States but for sectional bias. Former President Harry Truman said of him that he would have held the nation's highest office had he hailed from Missouri, Indiana, Kentucky or some of the pivotal states.

During his long service in the Senate he was confidant and friend of six Presidents beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he knew well both as the occupant of the executive mansion in Washington and as a frequent visitor to the Little White House at Warm Springs.

But he was closest to Lyndon B. Johnson whose political fortunes he helped to boost. Although he was Johnson's mentor, he broke with the Texan on key political issues although they remained personal friends. Sen. Rus-

sell was a frequent White House visitor during the Johnson years.

President Nixon also held the senior senator from Georgia in high esteem. He turned up at a reception honoring him last February and was generous in his praise.

Sen. Russell was dean of the Senate and one of the most powerful men in the nation's political structure.

At the time of his death he was president pro tem of the Senate and chairman of the prestigious Appropriations Committee. Previously he had served for many years as chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee.

But he was never too busy for the problems of the people back home. He often said government was effective if the people demanded that it be. He constantly urged public interest and participation in political affairs.

Sen. Russell used his great power and prestige wisely. He was not the type to throw his weight around but he commanded enormous respect in high federal circles.

News stories about his fatal illness noted that he spent more than half of his life in the U.S. Senate. But he was also a good legislator and governor of Georgia in the twenties and early thirties. His reorganization plan for the state government is still considered a model.

He liked to think of himself as a "moderate conservative" but his hand was apparent in many progressive and humanitarian programs, reflecting the inner man and his deep concern and compassion for his fellow human beings.

It will not be easy to replace a man like Sen. Richard B. Russell. His dedication to public service set him apart.

He had the respect and affection not only of his fellow Georgians but of the great and humble of the nation and beyond its borders.

His passing removes from the scene one of the towering figures of American history.

We join in mourning the death of Sen. Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia.

[From the Wayne County (Ga.) Press, Jan. 28, 1971]

Richard Brevard Russell

Richard Brevard Russell. Georgia's distinguished contribution to the United States Senate, is buried. His memory will long be regarded as perhaps the most effective and influential Senator during the 1900's.

The scope and influence of the Russell years in the Senate is seen in view of the relative ease at which he was re-elected to the Senate. Georgians seemed to realize the quality of Dick Russell, and continued to re-elect him time and time again to represent them in Washington. His terms of office were not marred by scandal or disgrace.

Wayne Countians might consider that Senator Russell was perhaps the moving force behind the basic commerce of the county, the pine tree industry. While governor of Georgia, Russell allocated $50,000 in research funds for an experimental project. (That was a big sum in those Depression Days.) From this, Dr. Charles Herty found that the Georgia pine could be used in the manufacture of pulp and paper. Today's modern ITT–Rayonier plant in Jesup, plus the numerous acres of pine woodland, is a living memorial to Dick Russell's insight and willingness to fund research for the future.

On a national scope, Richard Russell was the brightest statesman Georgia has even produced. It may be years, even decades, before Georgia will again see a person with the qualities of Richard Brevard Russell. He served the state, and the nation, with distinction and honor. He will be long remembered.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Eagle and the Beacon, Jan. 24, 1971]

Sen. Richard B. Russell

The death of Sen. Richard B. Russell removes one of the nation's most powerful men from the public scene.

His 38 years in the Senate made him that body's second—longest serving member; only Arizona Democrat Carl Hayden, with the record of 41 years, had served longer.

He was a knowledgeable politician with a complex personality. He had been on nearly every list of the most powerful men in Washington for many years. His popularity extended even to his opponents. Former President Harry S. Truman once said, "If Russell had been from Indiana or Missouri or Kentucky, he may very well have been President of the United States."

His first chance at the big job came in 1948 when the Dixiecrats offered to make him the States' Rights candidate. He turned them down, choosing to "remain loyal to the national Democratic party."

In 1952 he sought the Democratic presidential nomination, and at that time, Richard M. Nixon said Russell "would be the hardest Democratic candidate for us to beat." He won 294 votes of 1,230 on the second ballot, only to lose to Adlai E. Stevenson on the third.

Russell was known chiefly for his support of the military, though he was a strong opponent of civil rights legislation. However, throughout his Senate career, his basic theme remained states' rights and constitutionalism. His arguments against civil rights were always based on constitutional grounds without reference to racism.

A highlight of Russell's career was his conduct of the MacArthur hearings during the Korean War. When President Truman relieved MacArthur of command in 1951, many Americans were frustrated with the war's stalemate and agreed with MacArthur's cry for victory.

But Russell invited MacArthur to testify before the Senate Armed Services Committee, and announced that the hearings would be secret for security reasons, with "quick and full public reports" daily.

With no TV cameras, no reporters and full control over press releases, Russell kept the hearings going for nearly two months. They began as the nation's biggest news story, but dwindled until almost no one noticed the committee never issued a final report.

Russell, as early as the 1940s, saw the root of the U.S. dilemma in Southeast Asia. From the beginning, he protested American involvement in Vietnam.

Though a conservative in recent years, he was considered a liberal in New Deal days. He said he was a

liberal when there was a depression and a conservative when times were good.

Russell was a brilliant debater, a senator's senator whose speaking manner and deportment brought to mind a Roman senator with flowing white hair and a toga over the shoulders.

He was a true gentleman of the South, and deserved the respect he received for his abilities, though his stands on certain issues could not be approved by all.

[From the Winder (Ga.) News, Jan. 27, 1971]

SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL

The old Hebrew prophet, with all of his wisdom and foresight, described the Messiah of the world many years before his actual advent into the physical society of man with the profound words: "And He set His face, like a flint, towards Jerusalem." We cannot help thinking of this great prophet's language as it falls our lot to write a few words, after so many wonderful words have already been written, about Georgia's and Winder's great and beloved Senior Senator. It seems to us that he certainly set his face, like a flint, toward the great life of service which he has rendered for so many years to his native people in Georgia and to his beloved nation on all levels. It seems as though a Great Prophet, even in the years of his youth, guided his training and his preparation, readying him for the many great and sometimes awesome responsibilities which later became his lot to perform.

Senator Russell became known as "a giant" among his contemporaries in the nation's Capitol and around the world. It is our humble opinion that our late Senator accomplished the many great achievements and rendered his state and nation inestimable service primarily because he "set his face like a flint" toward the preparation for his life of service which he was privileged to render to his people for more than 50 years. So many have written of his ability, integrity and honesty, it seems almost insignificant for us to repeat, and yet we stand convinced that it was these characteristics which steered his life into a position to serve his nation and the world in hours of crises and decision-making. At times when the greatest was required, Senator Russell had the right answer and the right decision for each occasion.

Senator Russell has left this life, but the noble and wise precepts and examples which he leaves behind will never pass from this earth. His truths will endure forever, to mark the pathway for others like a flint pointing in the direction of integrity and honesty for all men everywhere to live by and to die by.

A BROTHER SPEAKS OF THE SENATOR

At the closing session of the Georgia General Assembly last Friday a number of members eulogized the late Senator Richard B. Russell. Among them was his brother Dr. Alex B. Russell, of Winder, Representative from the 14th District. Following are his remarks:

"Mr. Speaker, fellow House members and all within the sound of my voice: My assignment here is unique and needless to say sad. But it is a job that I will attempt to do in a manner pleasing to the man I offer homage. Words do not come too easily at a time like this. At this kind of time a veritable tidal wave of memories cascade into the mind. Matters small, matters large.

My father was 50 years old when I was born, so this man served a dual role as part father and a brother.

He, in a perfectly normal manner, freely gave the love of a brother, advice to treasure, example to emulate and maternal help difficult to estimate or calculate.

An example of his advice, after I had announced for representative, I recall that he had told me in the days before Negroes had franchise, that any Negro man and a fifteen year old boy could talk a man into running for office.

You all know that he said that he was elected to represent Georgia in Washington, not Washington in Georgia.

After my election to the legislature I went to him seriously, since I was a rookie and he an old pro, and asked him for any advice he had to make the job easier for me and the results better for my constituents. He said simply, 'Alex, you are a well-educated man of reasonable insight and judgment, so I have nothing to offer.'

The evidence of his work is abundant and historical. For rare genius, absolute devotion to cause, for unalterable purpose, indefatigable effort, for wit, wisdom and labor I have never seen his peer.

To me there is no greater argument against the very passing of time than the contribution of truly great men to the advancement of their fellow man.

I am much obliged for your time."

Alex B. Russell, M.D.
Representative 14th House District
Barrow and Oconee Counties

[From NBC News, Jan. 21, 1971]

(By Robert McCormick)

The Congress of the United States can make few claims to having, among its membership, men of unquestioned integrity, of unquestioned honesty, of unquestioned dedication to public service—men who approach the definition of statesman. . . .

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia was one of the exceptions . . . He was a powerful force in the Senate; he was re-elected so many times that he became, first, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, then later, chairman of the even more powerful Appropriations Committee. . . . He was, without question, one of the two or three most powerful members of the Senate in many years. But in personal conversations, he would deny that he had such power; socially, he could be relaxed and amusing. Perhaps the best way to sum up his character, is to say he had the capacity to handle power—with rare humility. . . .

[From WAGA–TV, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE LIFE OF RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Buddy Ray)

Georgia has lost one of her greatest sons. The nation has lost a great servant. "Lost" is not the true word, we know: the life of Richard B. Russell is so embedded in the stream of history it will endure beyond the generations he served. But it is only human that death brings a sense of loss, a sadness of spirit. And all Georgia shares it as the Senator comes home from Washington for the last time.

Senator Russell himself would want little time spent in ceremonial sadness, and the simplicity of the funeral plans are in keeping with the character and pattern of his life. In the years through which he became one of the most powerful figures in the nation's capitol, Senator Russell was known always as a modest, quiet man who detested the misuse or abuse of power.

The legislation he helped form and the principles for which he stood are threads woven into the pattern of this century. The heritage he leaves our state and nation is a life-long devotion to duty, a total commitment to the great responsibilities of high office. This heritage is there to be claimed by any young man or woman who would follow the course of public service. It is the enduring monument, the part of Richard B. Russell that will never be lost.

We use our public voice to express public gratitude of the state for this useful life and its influence that shines through the sadness of these hours.

[From WJJC–Radio, Commerce, Ga., Jan. 25, 1971]

DEATH OF SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Liz Layton)

The State and Nation has mourned the death of a great statesman and a giant of a man. From the time I remember being interested, even the least, in politics and States affairs, the name Richard Russell has been outstanding. His name is one of whom I never heard uttered a derogatory remark. His wisdom was the kind sought by people of all ages. His diligence in work and patriotism was unparalleled. His devotion to family was faithful and unwavering. In all probability, if he had not been born and reared a southerner, he would have been President of the United States. Richard B. Russell, a man of humility and commonsense, worked and grew to earn the respect of world renowned leaders. Like the Apostle Paul, Senator Richard B. Russell devoted his entire life to a cause, his being patriotism and statesmanship unhampered by a companion and family of his own. He ran a good race . . . he fought a good fight. Although Richard B. Russell is no longer with us, we shall always know that he was here.

[From WRBL–Radio, Columbus, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

SENATOR RUSSELL

It was said of the late Senator Richard Russell that he could never be president because he was a Southerner. He tried twice and failed. Today, if he were living and younger, he'd have a good chance of making it. He'd be the choice of the Democratic party, too.

Some years back, the Dixiecrats, who broke with the regular Democratic party over the Civil Rights issue, wanted the Senator to come under their banner. But he wouldn't desert the party that kept him in the Senate for 38 years. After his defeat in the historic debate over the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, Senator Russell might have found reason to join up with the Dixiecrats. But, with the battle over, he wisely forgot the past and looked to the future with a simple statement: "This is the law of the land. Now, we must obey it and make it work."

Senator Long of Louisiana made an appropriate comment on the loss of Senator Russell: "The void will be filled by what other men have to offer, but the level declines a bit."

[From WMGA–Radio, Moultrie, Ga., Jan. 31, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

Senator Richard Russell was indeed a strong voice and force in U.S. relations around the world. The direction of his thinking held great respect. The late Senator was politically potent in many spheres on the national level, particularly on the military front.

To the State of Georgia, in whose soil his body is now interred, he was most certainly "The giant" . . . as he was so well characterized. His loss had international, national and statewide implications. There will not soon be another like him!

Moultrie and Colquitt County shall miss him, too, and can never forget him, for there are monuments here which keep his memory forever alive.

Who can soon pass from mind the funds he requested and secured for the Moultrie-Thomasville Airport . . . the aid he offered to establish the Moultrie-Colquitt County Library . . . his influence in finding Federal funding sources for the Moultrie Municipal Building.

The office of the late Senator Russell was involved more than once in the relations between government and the Hawthorne School of Aeronautics.

It was through the gracious facilities of the Russell office and staff that the Development Authority was able to place the Maule Aircraft Company, and the Acro Corporation on land at Spence Air Base.

So, it is that while the Senator Richard Russell has been committed to his native red soil, his words and his memory stand out in bold relief on the Moultrie-Colquitt County scene. We shall always see and feel the influence of this man of "Uncommon common sense."

[From WOXI–TV, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

The sleepy little town of Winder, Georgia, receives its best known son again tomorrow. This time, Senator Richard Russell is coming home to stay. The 73-year-old senior Senator from Georgia enjoyed the confidence of six American Presidents . . . and the admiration and respect of Republicans and Democrats alike. In an era when the South was generally considered to be somewhere out of

the United States . . . Senator Russell brought a new respect. The fact that Russell did come from the South kept him from being President, according to former President Harry Truman. It is a sad time for the entire State of Georgia . . . indeed for the entire nation. But we in Georgia can look with pride at the flags lowered to half-staff, knowing that Richard Russell gave his best for most of his life for our state and our country. And Richard Russell's best was far better than that of most men.

[From WRAL–TV, Raleigh-Durham, N.C., Jan. 26, 1971]

VIEWPOINT

Dick Russell's death last week once more reminds us that America is a nation in awesome transition. It has been interesting to note the tributes paid him—all of them sincere, all of them deserved. The Senator from Georgia was that kind of man. Indeed, his life and career were such that none of the hundreds of expressions of admiration and sadness could even come close to supplying an adequate measurement of what the Senator had meant to his country.

The most melancholy game that people play is what-might-have-been. Senator Ervin, among others, commented last week that Dick Russell would have been President of the United States had he not been from the South. It was not an overstatement. It is a fact.

When the mid-afternoon bulletin clacked through the teletypes, we wondered how many other minds across the country were racing simultaneously backwards in time. It was, in a way, a matter of everybody's writing a personal mental tribute at once. In the instance of Dick Russell, this is the best kind—certainly the most appropriate kind. In both life and death, Dick Russell made men think. The Senator was, as the saying goes, an intensely personal man. He viewed his country with a sense of history, and perhaps of impossible idealism. It was a nation, he felt, that should never be allowed to transform itself into groups of clashing selfishness. No, the United States, to him had to survive on the basis of individualism with every man earning respect on the basis of purely personal traits—such things as effort and attitude, responsibility and achievement. Any other philosophy, the Senator often said, and America was through.

Irresponsible behavior had no place in Senator Russell's rule book. Neither excuses nor alibis served to satisfy his dedication to excellence. He was not a spiteful man, but he rejected absolutely the kind of politics that preaches that the world owes anybody anything. It's the other way around.

So, as we say, each of his friends fashioned a sort of spontaneous mental epitaph for Dick Russell that afternoon when the news of his death came. Mostly there were memories of personal association. Our own first thought raced backwards 19 years in time to two weeks spent with him in that hot summer of 1952 in Chicago. The Republicans had just completed their convention, nominating an immensely popular wartime General of the Army as their candidate for President. Harry Truman was winding up his tenure in the White House. The Democrats were unknowingly preparing to determine the philosophical direction their party would take for a generation or more to come.

Repeated polls showed that knowledgeable Americans considered Dick Russell the best qualified man in the country for the Presidency. It is fair to say that not one responsible voice in all of the republic had even a hint of doubt as to the man's integrity. But the Senator was burdened with two virtues which banished his name from the roll of possible candidates acceptable to the power structure: He was from the South, and he would not consent to compromise with, let alone control by, the political manipulators.

So he lost the nomination. Or, more accurately, the country lost. In the game of what-might-have-been, one can only suppose what would have happened had Dick Russell won the nomination and the Presidency. Or, even if he had won only the nomination while losing the Presidency, there surely would have been fewer of the mistakes of judgment, however well-intentioned, that occurred at the White House during the succeeding eight years.

The nation bestowed upon Senator Russell many of its highest honors, but it denied itself the ultimate in good fortune when the mechanism of politics rejected his services as the Chief Executive of its affairs. He would have served us well. He served us well anyhow, as one of history's most noble Senators. It may seem a cliche to say that we will not see his likes again. It is not a cliche. It is the truth—which is what the epitaph to a great and good man should be.

[From WRBL–TV, Columbus, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

THE SENATOR FROM WINDER

The Senator from Winder, Georgia has made his last commitment. Things will be different on Washington's Capitol Hill without Senator Richard Brevard Russell. You can't spend more than half your lifetime in the United States Senate without making an impression. You can't be a dynamic man like Russell without making an important impression.

We only encountered the Senator a few times. He was most articulate and able. He knew his facts. He talked no gobbledegook. His views were highly respected . . . even among those who disagreed with his concepts.

Russell was not a politicking kind of Senator. He wasn't much on handshaking or mixing with the folks. He was more shy than aloof. Thousands who voted for him never saw the man. But they knew his record, his dedication. He said himself: "I don't have any family or home life. If I don't get home until late, that's all right. The Senate is my life's work." And it was. I watched him striding down the halls of the Senate building, parrying questions and answers with the Washington press corps, holding his ground in the Senate Chamber . . . there was no doubt, this was his life. They tell the story of a time in Washington when a newcomer to the Senate asked President Kennedy what he needed to know about being a Senator. Kennedy's response was: "Go see Dick Russell."

We have blessings to count that a full lifetime was lived by a man who honorably and well served his state

and his nation. He was a good man. One of the best. And if ever a man deserved a monument for remembrance . . . it is the Senator from Winder, Georgia.

[From WROM–Radio, Rome, Ga., Jan. 26, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

With the passing of Senator Richard Russell . . . Georgia has lost one of its most illustrious citizens . . . and the country has lost a great statesman. For several decades, Senator Russell wielded tremendous power in the nation's capital . . . such power as has been enjoyed by few men in history.

Yet, with it all, Senator Russell never lost the human touch. He never lost his humility . . . and he never forgot the people he served. The decisions he was called upon to make in his many responsible assignments for the United States Senate were made purely from a deep conviction that this was best for the country . . . Not because the decision might be a popular one and get votes for Richard Russell . . . Someone has said . . . and rightly so . . . that "The Death of Senator Russell marks the passing of an era." . . . We like to think though that in our nation's moments of crisis in the future . . . the Spirit of Richard B. Russell will be around on some plane or other to beam flashes of inspiration and wisdom to the new leaders who will arise in the senate of the United States.

[From WSB–Radio, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Elmo Ellis)

The first time I came to know Senator Richard B. Russell as more than a famous name in politics was the year 1952. Already a famous and highly-respected voice in the Senate, Russell was encouraged by a great many of his supporters to run for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

In the months preceding the national political conventions of that year, Senator Russell visited a number of states, made a lot of speeches, and tested out his chances for winning the nomination of his party.

During these months I was privileged to accompany the Senator on several trips, as a writer-producer, at the time he was appearing on a variety of important network television and radio programs, including Meet the Press, Face the Nation, Hat in the Ring, and other such showcases.

I remember especially a train ride we took together from Washington to New York, for one of his TV appearances. We talked a lot that day and I came to understand the real Dick Russell and the deep convictions that motivated this dedicated statesman and made him such an impressive and powerful figure in the American government. In the years that followed, I came to value his friendship and cherish his confidence.

Simplicity, modesty, conservation marked his life and his manners He had strong beliefs and convictions and he was anchored to them. He moved with such quiet dignity that a stranger would not have known him to be a man of vast influence and prestige, whose counsel was sought repeatedly by every president from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon.

Because he was a Southerner, a traditionalist, and one who believed in interpreting the Constitution along well-defined and long-established lines it was inevitable that the Russell bid for the presidency would be a regional and symbolic one, but the knowledge and experience and wisdom of Richard Brevard Russell was national and international in its scope and influence.

He was a man who read and studied omnivorously throughout his life. He had a vast fund of information about government, military affairs, economics at his finger tips.

And though he resided for decades in Washington serving as Georgia's Senior United States Senator, he always lived in Winder, Georgia, and his heart was always with his loved ones and friends of this state.

He will be missed, by his colleagues in the Senate, by the presidents who looked to him for advice, by the people of Georgia and the nation who depended on his leadership.

Truly, his life was spent in the service of his country.

[From WSB–Radio, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 24, 1971]

RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL—1897–1971

(By Elmo Ellis)

The line was a long one, and still they came, hour after hour, the respectful, the mourning and the curious, to see for one last time the man who had served his state and nation in various positions of public trust for half a century.

Because he was in many ways a quiet and reserved man, Richard Russell with the passing years came to be somewhat of a legendary figure.

He did not spend a great deal of time in Georgia during the last 30 years of his life, because he was increasingly occupied with governmental responsibilities in Washington.

But an aura of majesty and dignity grew around him, and thousands of Georgians, who had never seen him, felt that they knew him and had a claim on his name and fame.

Never in the lifetime of a living Georgian has another citizen of this state stood quite as tall in the legislative chambers of the nation.

President Nixon called Russell "a President's Senator," for he was literally advisor and counselor on military matters and foreign affairs to a succession of six chief executives.

It would be difficult to understand completely the ideals and aspirations that motivated Richard Brevard Russell without studying his family, the background from which he came, the beliefs and traditions he inherited, and the self-imposed obligations that he carried throughout his life.

He was part of the past, deeply involved in the present, and both respectful of and cautious about the future.

He sometimes voiced his displeasure about changes that he could not reconcile with his basically-conservative

views on government and social reform. But his patriotism and sense of duty always put a limitation on his opposition to that which he disliked or with which he disagreed.

He was both patrician and political wizard, he was both a Southerner and an American. He combined in an unusual manner qualities of simplicity and grandeur.

Senate colleagues who did not always agree with Dick Russell always respected him and his abilities.

He will be remembered in history, not because he was always right in his judgments or all-wise in his decisions, but because his only masters appeared to be his commonsense and his conscience.

[From WSB–TV, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 21, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

(By Jim Giltmier)

Its a little colder here somehow. An imperceptible chill tells you that in a definite way the vital functions of this city and more particularly those of the United States Senate have been diminished by the loss of Richard Russell.

I didn't know him very well on a personal basis. He's been sick a lot since I've been here, but because I probed into his life so deeply for three documentaries; I think I know him better than I do my father.

Those of you who are too young to remember when this once vital man stood in the well of the Senate haranguing five different presidents must understand that for the past three decades Richard Russell has been the embodiment of what the Senate was to most of the other Senators on Capitol Hill.

He was the leader of the Southern Caucus. He was the mover and shaper of all American military policy. It was he who made Lyndon Johnson president more than any other man.

Whether you like what America was during the 40's, 50's, and 60's or whether you don't, Richard Russell was in a large part what made it all happen and now that force is gone. The winds of change now blow harder than ever in this town and I just think you ought to know all about that.

[From WSB–TV, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 21, 1971]

SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL—1897–1971

When Ted Kennedy was elected to the Senate, he went to his older brother and asked to whom he could go to learn how to become a good Senator.

John Kennedy told him, "Go see Dick Russell."

Richard Brevard Russell was the best.

The Winder, Georgia, native was a friend and confidant of the Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon. Columnist Bill White wrote that Richard Russell himself had the ability to be an outstanding President. "However," White said, "the door to the White House was locked and nailed against him because he was a Southerner."

It was the nation's loss but Georgia's greater gain.

So Georgia's loss is greater in his passing, but the nation also grieves because it has lost one of the greatest men ever to serve in the United States Senate.

[From WSPA–Radio & TV, Spartanburg, S.C., Jan. 22, 1971]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL

Within 30 days South Carolina and Georgia, the South and the Nation have lost two public servants this country can ill afford to lose.

Richard Russell as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Mendel Rivers of the House Armed Services Committee kept the American posture of preparedness strong, and with so many doves flying around their accomplishments in the years ahead will shine more brightly than it does today.

The loss on the state level is much more tragic so far as South Carolina and Georgia are concerned. Here were two men living in adjoining states who held the most powerful positions in Congress. The silencing of these two voices on Capitol Hill almost simultaneously is a blow which will require the two states years to overcome.

Richard Russell's ties with South Carolina were greater than to any state other than his own Georgia which he loved with a passion. The fact that the Russell family requested instead of flowers contributions be made to Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton is but an example of his ties across the Savannah River.

But they went further than that. When the young Georgian and former Governor arrived in Washington that cold day in January, 1933, which marked the beginning of the Roosevelt era, he found a South Carolinian anxious and ready to put his talents to work in the world's greatest deliberative body.

James F. Byrnes was then the titular leader of the Senate because of his close relationship with Franklin Roosevelt. When Byrnes left the Senate and became a member of the Supreme Court, he called in Senator Russell and Senator "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky and said he recognized in them the two best parliamentary brains in the Senate, and he looked to them to carry on the tradition of that body which had given it the stature it had held through most of the history of the Republic.

Subsequently, as Governor of South Carolina Mr. Byrnes vigorously supported the Georgian for the Democratic nomination for President.

Russell, like Byrnes, was shut out from the Presidency because they were brought up on the wrong side of the Potomac.

Jimmy Byrnes' belief and confidence in Dick Russell proved correct. He could have become Majority Leader, but he stepped aside for his friend, Lyndon Johnson. But his colleagues two years ago elected him President Pro Tempore of the Senate. At the same time he shifted his committee chairmanship from Armed Services to Appropriations.

Dick Russell was a good man and all the adjectives apply. His father, a Georgia Chief Justice, and his mother were of the stock that has made this nation great. He was loved and respected by all who knew him, and this in-

cluded most of Georgia and a large part of Washington. He never married. His mistress was public service which began in the Georgia House of Representatives where he was speaker, then Governor and the U. S. Senate. He asked that there be no Washington Senate Chamber funeral but his remains be taken to Georgia to rest in the State Capitol and then interred in the red clay of Barrow County which he loved from his barefoot days. More people will probably turn out for Russell's funeral than for any other Georgian since Senator Tom Watson was brought back to Georgia after his death in Washington in 1922.

Dick Russell's modesty is exemplified by his one line biography in the Congressional Directory.

"Richard Brevard Russell, Democrat, of Winder, Georgia."

WSPA cannot better close this tribute to this great Georgian than to quote his own message to an official of this station in response to a Christmas greeting. Here are his words written on January 4, 1971:

"Christmas is a season for joy and gratitude for the many blessings of our good life today—family, friends and the freedom which is the birthright of our citizenship. It is also a time for renewed reflection and rededication to the highest ideals and aspirations of mankind in the hope that we may finally find the way to peace on this earth."

[From WSPA–TV, Spartanburg, S.C., Jan. 25, 1971]

DICK RUSSELL

Somehow, some way, attending the funeral services for Richard Brevard Russell near Winder Sunday caused one to ask the question:

Can this happen again: and, if it cannot, has something gone from the heart of America which has made it great?

Seventy-odd years ago a young boy lived in the modest rural home where the great and near great came Sunday. This place at the turn of the century was truly rural America. As a member of a family of 15, young Russell milked cows, chopped cotton, brought in wood, fed the horses, and by a kerosene lamp studied his lessons. He was blessed with learned parents, but they, too, had come up in the world as a part of rural and small-town America. There was nightly reading of the Bible around the family circle.

His father became Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, and the Seaboard Railroad put a small depot in front of his house and named it Russell. There the Chief Justice would flag the "Vestibule" in the morning, and it would carry him to Atlanta and the State Capitol where he did his work. In those days the railroads were interested in passengers, especially a Chief Justice and one who could become Governor.

From this humble beginning on a red clay cotton farm, Richard Russell began a career which took him to the legislature soon after he finished the nearby University of Georgia in Athens. He became Speaker of the House and then was elected Governor, the office his father unsuccessfully sought; then to the United States Senate where he became the dean, honored and respected by both Republicans and Democrats as well as those who refused to wear the label of either major party.

Harry Truman said had Dick Russell been from any other section than the South, he would have been President. Richard Nixon, who flew to Atlanta to pay his final respects to the Georgian as he lay in state at the Capitol, said had he lived ten years later in life, he would have been President.

As the funeral procession moved him from the Russell home to the Russell park nearby, the old stable which in days gone by housed the family livestock was passed.

It was here that Dick Russell learned the lessons of life that only those brought up in rural America can learn.

The extent to which this rural atmosphere contributed to the successes Dick Russell attained in life can never be fully evaluated. But certainly it was something wholesome and something he cherished.

Unfortunately, the kind of life that produced Dick Russell is fading from the American scene. In this urban era of high priced campaigning on television and otherwise, what few barefoot boys are left in the country have little chance of being elected to the Senate unless they have made a fortune or have friends who will underwrite the expense.

All of this does not augur well for the future of American democracy.

What this nation needs is more youths who will pattern their lives after Dick Russell and more adults like him who place the highest value on life and patriotism.

WSPA expresses the hope that the old Russell home will be preserved to inspire those who visit there, both young and old, to emulate the life of this distinguished Georgian.

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